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RESEARCH IN EDUCATION

XXII

EVACUATION IN SCOTLAND  
A RECORD OF EVENTS AND EXPERIMENTS



# EVACUATION IN SCOTLAND

A RECORD OF EVENTS AND EXPERIMENTS

EDITED BY

WILLIAM BOYD, M.A., B.Sc., D.PHIL., D.LITT.

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## PREFACE

In this account of Evacuation in Scotland and its more significant social and educational outcomes there are three main elements.

The first is historical. It follows the story from the time of the official inception through the exciting months of the great migration from the vulnerable city areas into the comparative safety of the countryside to its inglorious decline, and documents it by reference to official instructions, memoranda, parliamentary answers, newspaper reports, etc.

Then follow three sociological studies, carried through by the Education Department of Glasgow University. The material for two of these came from the responses made to questionnaires by over a hundred Education graduates and other former students, many of whom had a responsible share in the conduct of the evacuation schemes and all of whom were in a position to give first-hand information about them. The third is an intensive study of the evacuation experiences of a representative sample of the whole school population of a Scottish burgh, based on interviews with the children's parents by their teachers.

The rest of the articles present a selection of the more interesting educational experiments which had their origin in the expedients devised by Directors of Education and teachers to provide some kind of schooling for evacuees and for the pupils who remained at home. In the nature of the case some of these were only temporary, but others proved to have in them good promise of permanence. The writers—generally those who did the special job demanded by the exigencies of evacuation—while seeking in the first instance to give an exact account of the organisation and methods developed by them, have all had in mind future possibilities and have tried to indicate the forward-looking aspects of what was done.

Thanks are due to all those who have given help in the varied inquiries which have provided the information embodied in this record. On the financial side grateful acknowledgment is made of the grant from the National Institute of Economic and Social Research in connection with the three special studies, and of the grant made by the Publications Committee of Glasgow University towards the cost of publication. On

the practical side there is a manifold debt to all the teachers, Education officials, local government officers and others, who in the midst of unprecedented worries and labours willingly furnished facts and figures on request, and not least to the Director and members of the Executive Committee of the Scottish Council for Research in Education for encouragement and advice at all stages in the inquiry.

WILLIAM BOYD

# EVACUATION IN SCOTLAND

## EVACUATION IN SCOTLAND: A RECORD

By ALEXANDER J. BELFORD, M.A.

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By JOHN R. THIRD, M.A.

## THE PARENTS AND EVACUATION (Glasgow University Evacuation Survey)

By WILLIAM BOYD, M.A., B.Sc., D.Phil., D.Litt.

## BILLETTING IN LARGE HOUSEHOLDS AND INSTITUTIONS (Glasgow University Evacuation Survey)

By MURRAY STEWART, M.A.

## THE USE OF LARGE HOUSES AS RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS UNDER THE GOVERNMENT EVACUATION SCHEME IN THE STEWARTRY OF KIRKCUDBRIGHT

By JOHN CRAWFORD, O.B.E., M.A., Ed.B., LL.B.

## A SCOTTISH CAMP SCHOOL

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## NERSTON RESIDENTIAL CLINIC: AN EXPERIMENT IN CHILD GUIDANCE

By CATHERINE M. MACCALLUM, M.A., B.Sc., Ed.B.

## BARNS HOUSE: A HOSTEL FOR DIFFICULT BOYS EVACUATED FROM EDINBURGH

By W. DAVID WILLS

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## EVACUATION IN SCOTLAND: A RECORD

### I. THE ANDERSON REPORT

ON 24th May 1938 Sir Samuel Hoare announced in the House of Commons that a Committee had been appointed to consider the various aspects of the problem of transferring persons from areas which were likely to be exposed to continuous air attack. That Committee presented its report on 26th July 1938, but, owing to the Munich crisis, the Government delayed publication till 27th October 1938.<sup>1</sup>

The Committee was insistent that the preparation of plans for the evacuation of the civil population in the event of war was a task of great urgency, as air invasion would take place on a very much greater scale than the air raids during the war of 1914-1918. 'Whether or not the civilian population were deliberately attacked, people living in industrial areas would be exposed to great dangers, especially those living in the immediate neighbourhood of important targets.' Large numbers of planes would be directed against docks, public utility undertakings, important factories and recognised military objectives. Accordingly, it was anticipated that there would be an exodus, on a scale which could not accurately be foreseen, from areas which had been subjected to repeated air attack. It was desirable, therefore, that the Government should make plans to control the movement of refugee populations and thus enable the transfer to be made in an orderly and efficient manner.

Naturally it was hoped that the great majority of men and women engaged on work of an essential character would be constrained by a sense of public duty to remain at their tasks. The desire to migrate would in that event be found more especially among those whose presence could be spared. Nevertheless, except in so far as it might be necessary for military or other special reasons to require persons to leave a specified area, evacuation should not be compulsory. Panic would be allayed if it was known that the Government had prepared plans and was ready to put them into operation. The range of the plans could be inferred from the suggestion that one-third of the population might have to be moved from vulnerable areas.

The difficulties of evacuation were foreseen by the Committee:

'The transference of large numbers of people from their homes and accustomed surroundings to other and often unfamiliar areas is not a task to be undertaken lightly. It raises problems of great complexity

<sup>1</sup> Report of Committee on Evacuation, Cmd. 5837 (July 1938). Popularly known as the Anderson Report, Sir John Anderson, M.P. (Scottish Universities), being Chairman of the Committee.

and difficulty at every stage, whether it be the collection and transportation of the refugees or their reception, accommodation and feeding at the other end. All the services which are delicately adjusted to meet the needs of the community on the present distribution of the population would have to be refashioned to deal with the new situation. Both in the areas from which persons are drawn, and in the country districts to which they are taken, social problems and questions of public order of great complexity would be bound to arise. In time of peace such movement of the population would present difficulties of great magnitude. In war, there will be the added complications that the transfer will coincide with the dislocation inseparable from the transition from peace to war, and that it may have to be carried out after hostile air attack has begun and under conditions of considerable disorganisation.<sup>1</sup>

'The arrangements may not serve at the outset to provide more than the bare essentials of existence. But these should never be lacking, albeit on a somewhat meagre scale, and persons who have been moved from places of danger to an area of comparative safety are not likely to be exigent. Nevertheless, it will obviously be of the greatest importance to take all practicable steps to maintain the morale of the population in the reception areas, and it will be necessary to make a special study of ways and means by which this can be done. There may here and there be considerable friction, especially at first, between the inhabitants of these areas and the incomers who are billeted upon them; and who will find themselves in unfamiliar surroundings with a minimum of the necessities of life and very little with which to occupy their time. Such a situation will be fruitful of trouble unless special steps are taken to counteract the consequences of boredom and discontent. At a later stage conditions more nearly approximating to normal life may be attained, especially if, as may be anticipated, a large proportion of the refugees show a spirit of helpful co-operation.'<sup>2</sup>

The Committee examined the transport, reception, accommodation, feeding and welfare aspects of the evacuation problem and outlined suggestions for the consideration of the Government. It was recommended that the railway companies and other transport agencies concerned should be given the general plan and asked to prepare timetables for the transport services required.

A complete survey of available accommodation in the safer areas was to be made. Preliminary inquiries seemed to justify the expectation that, except in Scotland, it would be found to be well in excess of the requirements. The authorities would have to be given the power in

<sup>1</sup> Report of Committee on Evacuation, par. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., par. 73.

time of war to requisition accommodation for the billeting of refugees; 'and we need hardly say that any compulsory billeting would have to be enforced without regard to class or other distinctions.'<sup>1</sup>

It was assumed that the basis for billeting would have to be on the standard laid down in the Housing Acts, 1935, namely, five persons to every four rooms. Significantly the *Report* added, 'In Scotland even that low standard may have to be exceeded.'

The Committee concluded that accommodation for large numbers of refugees could only be obtained quickly and economically by billeting in private houses. The use of camps for the permanent accommodation of persons evacuated did not appear to be practicable. A warning was given that private householders should not be compelled to provide services, such as cooking, for refugees. It was nevertheless anticipated that in many districts services, or at least facilities, would be provided by voluntary agencies, although large-scale plans for communal feeding would also have to be included in the scheme.<sup>2</sup>

Detailed plans were to be prepared by the local Education Authorities with the co-operation of the teachers for the transference of children of school age from vulnerable areas to places of greater safety. The school was to be treated as the unit. The Committee was of opinion that the Government should bear the entire cost of the evacuation and maintenance in safer districts of school children removed from vulnerable areas.<sup>3</sup> The first charge of plans covering other members of the community should be met by the Government, but it was suggested that a contribution towards maintenance should be made by them. Further, the Committee recommended that in reception areas the billeting of refugees, the keeping of records and the payment of allowances to owners of billeting accommodation should be performed by paid officials of the responsible authority.<sup>4</sup>

#### Decisions of the Government

Sir Samuel Hoare, the Home Secretary, in a *Memorandum* accompanying the Anderson Report, stated that action had already been taken to examine and prepare in detail evacuation schemes. The Government, he intimated, had accepted the main recommendations of the Committee, and in particular had decided

1. That evacuation should not be compulsory;
2. That production in the large industrial towns should be maintained, but there must be organised facilities for the evacuation of substantial numbers of people from certain industrial areas;
3. That billeting in private houses should be compulsory;

<sup>1</sup> *Report of Committee on Evacuation*, par. 60.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 108.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 69.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 104.

4. That the initial cost of evacuation arrangements should be borne by the Government 'but that refugees who can afford to contribute towards the cost of their maintenance should be expected to do so';
5. That special arrangements should be made for school children to move out in groups from their schools in charge of their teachers.

## II (a). PLANNING EVACUATION

After the Munich crisis the Ministry of Home Security got busy on schemes for air raid precautions. Arrangements for evacuation devolved mainly on the Ministry of Health in England and on the Department of Health in Scotland, probably because these were the appropriate Departments. In January 1939 the Department of Health for Scotland explained the general scope and purpose of the evacuation scheme to local authorities whose districts were regarded as suitable for the reception of evacuated persons.<sup>1</sup> Such authorities were invited to undertake a survey of housing accommodation, to ascertain the accommodation available and the householders who were willing to receive children. The date fixed for the return of the information was 28th February 1939, and in March a description was issued of the preparatory arrangements for reception.<sup>2</sup> Subsequently the maximum numbers of evacuated persons to be directed to each area were calculated on the results of the survey and communicated to the local authorities, but no mention was made of the classes of persons or the proportions of such classes. In June the Department of Health for Scotland made public an outline of the proposed scheme of evacuation.<sup>3</sup> By that time the transport authorities, in co-operation with both receiving and sending areas, had completed arrangements for travel, and the chief reception officers and chief evacuation officers had discussed in conferences various questions of common interest connected with the scheme.

The Scottish Advisory Committee on Evacuation, appointed in December 1938, contained representatives of sending and receiving authorities, of the Educational Institute of Scotland and of the Women's Voluntary Services. It held eighteen meetings, the latest on 12th September 1941, and was throughout consulted by the Department of Health and the Scottish Education Department on the various circulars and memoranda sent to local authorities.

### Financial Arrangements

To placate local authorities the Government had announced in May: 'that the operation of a plan of evacuation shall not result in any

<sup>1</sup> Department of Health for Scotland, D.P. Circular 6 (15.1.1939).

<sup>2</sup> Do., D.P. Circular 16 and Memorandum 17 (25.3.1939).

<sup>3</sup> Do., D.P. Circular 30 and D.P. Memorandum E.V.S. 3 (15.6.1939).

additional burden on the local rates, and, so far as concerns the work preparatory for such a plan, provision is included in the Civil Defence Bill now before Parliament for the repayment by the Exchequer of the approved additional expenditure of local authorities for this work.<sup>1</sup>

But whereas the Anderson Committee had recommended that the Government 'should bear the entire cost of the evacuation and maintenance in safer districts of school children removed from vulnerable areas,' the Government decided that 'some contribution towards the cost of the allowances in respect of children or others evacuated under the scheme will be called for where the family circumstances justify such a course.'<sup>2</sup>

#### Classes of Persons to be Evacuated

The Government announced in its *Memorandum*<sup>3</sup> that the classes of persons for which evacuation arrangements were being made were:

- (a) school children;
- (b) teachers and helpers who would be required to continue the education of the children and to assist in caring for them;
- (c) children of preschool age;
- (d) mothers or other persons responsible for looking after preschool children, lodgings only to be provided for such persons;
- (e) expectant mothers;
- (f) adult blind persons.

The number of persons included in the scheme was estimated to be over half a million, but it was not expected that that number would be evacuated, since evacuation was not to be compulsory. The survey of accommodation had shown that householders had voluntarily offered to provide homes for nearly 300,000 unaccompanied school children.

#### The Areas Involved

For evacuation purposes the various districts of Scotland were classified as sending areas, presumed to be specially vulnerable, with a total population of about 1,760,000 and an average density of 14,000 to the square mile; reception areas, regarded as relatively safe, with a population of about 1,800,000 and an average density per square mile of 100; neutral areas, not considered suitable for one reason or another for either evacuation or reception.

The sending areas ultimately determined were Edinburgh, Rosyth, Glasgow, Clydebank and Dundee. The receiving areas allocated to these sending areas were as follows:

<sup>1</sup> Ministry of Health Circular 1800 (May 1939) and Department of Health for Scotland, D.P. Circular 30 (15.6.1939), par. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Department of Health for Scotland, D.P. Circular 30, par. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Do., D.P. Memorandum E.V.S. 3 (15.6.1939).

- Edinburgh . Landward area and burghs in Banff, Berwick, Clackmannan, East Lothian, Inverness,\* Midlothian,\* Moray, Nairn, Peebles, Roxburgh, Selkirk, West Lothian \*
- Rosyth . Fife \*
- Glasgow . Landward area and burghs in Aberdeen,\* Argyll,\* Ayr,\* Bute, Dumfries, Kinross,\* Kirkcudbright, Lanark,\* Perth, Renfrew,\* Stirling,\* Wigtown
- Clydebank . Argyll,\* Dumbarton \*
- Dundee . Landward area and burghs in Angus and Kincardine

Inverkeithing, North Queensferry and South Queensferry in October 1939, and Greenock, Port Glasgow and Dumbarton in May 1941, were added to the list of sending areas. Unaccompanied school children evacuated from these areas were accommodated in the receiving areas allocated to the five original sending areas.

\* Excluding certain neutral areas.

### Registration

In March and April of 1939 the registration of possible evacuees was begun by the authorities in the sending areas. A form was issued to school pupils, and intimation made to parents whose children were under 5 years of age that registration was to take place at the nearest primary school. Parents were asked to indicate on the form whether or not they wished their children to be included in the evacuation scheme. When the forms were returned, registers were prepared of those to be evacuated. In some schools the pupils and parents were grouped and registered according to the streets in which they lived; in other schools the grouping was alphabetical. Groups of 30, including teachers, helpers or mothers, were then arranged, and two groups were allocated to each classroom. The pupils and parents were informed of their group number, and during May and June scholars had frequent rehearsals of going to the appointed place of assembly. Usually a 'marked man,' a senior pupil, was appointed in each group and furnished with a large cardboard standard bearing the group number.

In Glasgow the census taken at Easter showed that about 106,000 children were registered for evacuation under the Government scheme, and about 46,000 for retention in Glasgow. In addition, private arrangements for evacuation were being made by the parents of 26,000 children. An inquiry to determine the number of teachers willing to serve with the evacuated children showed a little over 50 per cent. That evacuation duty might be compulsory on teachers was implied in a statement that it would not be possible to retain in Glasgow all the teachers who wished to remain, if in the actual evacuation the number

of children was the same as indicated by the census. Considerable readjustment would be necessary.

'Those teachers—relatively few in number—who for special domestic reasons, stated in writing, desire if at all possible to remain will, of course, receive every consideration. The rest, it is hoped, appreciate the difficulty of the situation. They can be assured that the fairest possible allocation will be made.'

This assurance was implemented by the Education Committee of Glasgow; a special committee of assessors, including representatives of the Glasgow Local Association of the Educational Institute of Scotland, reviewed appeals from teachers concerned.

#### Expenses of Evacuees

In a letter to parents information concerning the financial arrangements was given in the following terms:

'The Government will supply free transport for persons going with the school party. Arrangements have been made to secure both food and lodging for them. For those who cannot afford to pay, food and lodging will be provided free of charge. Mothers who can do so should take enough money with them to buy food and other necessaries for themselves and their children until they can arrange to have more sent from home. But no one should refrain from going on account of lack of money because arrangements have been made to look after those who are in need.'

The only information that could be given in reply to anxious inquirers was, 'Some contribution towards the cost of the allowances in respect of children or others evacuated under the scheme will be called for where the family circumstances justify such a course.'<sup>1</sup>

#### Helpers

The need for a number of selected helpers was foreseen. Such helpers were to receive free board and lodging, but it was made clear that they were to give full-time assistance in caring for children. Local authorities of receiving areas were asked to inform local authorities of sending areas of the numbers of indispensable helpers in the different categories who could not be recruited locally. For most schools some parents were enrolled, but on arrival in the receiving areas they found it necessary to inform the billeting officers that they were helpers, and often no provision had been made to assign them any duties. Moreover, in many reception areas there seemed to be no knowledge that specially qualified women 'if engaged on a whole-time basis would, if necessary, be eligible for remuneration on the scale approved for Civil

<sup>1</sup> Department of Health for Scotland, D.P. Circular 30, par. 10.

Defence workers.'<sup>1</sup> Billeting officers, in the rush of work, might be excused for wondering by whom such appointments should have been made, and why the qualification 'if necessary' had been inserted.

Equally exasperating was the vagueness of arrangements regarding domestic helpers. Where there was no provision for communal meals, communal washing and mending facilities, the Department of Health had stated:

'The local authority may be able to arrange for part-time domestic help to the householder. The provision of help is a service for which volunteers are being recruited under the National Service Scheme, and local authorities in receiving areas should make every effort to recruit domestic helpers locally. It is expected that the majority of helpers will be able to give their services voluntarily. Arrangements are contemplated, however, under which part-time helpers who are unable to give their services voluntarily should be paid from public funds at a rate to be settled but without cost to the local authority.'<sup>2</sup>

Arrangements may have been made in some areas, but billeting officers usually looked in vain for any lists prepared by local authorities.

The Department of Health sought to anticipate any breakdown of the arrangements to procure helpers. The solution proposed was:

'If a local authority are unable to recruit locally the requisite number of helpers they should inform the local authority of the sending area of the number of additional helpers who are indispensable and cannot be recruited locally.'

In other words the solution was to ask the authorities in Clydebank, Dundee, Edinburgh, Fife and Glasgow to provide children's attendants, cooks and domestic servants who would receive board and lodging, and, if necessary, remuneration. The officials of the Ministry of Labour Exchanges in sending areas, on hearing such proposals, must have been amused when they considered the difficulties, almost insurmountable, of engaging workers even with the offer of good wages. In justice to the Department of Health it should be added that the Treasury may have been responsible for the unsatisfactory conditions.

School-hostel attendants, cleaners, milk attendants, etc. were notwithstanding invited by the sending authorities to express their willingness to go with the school parties to undertake undefined duties. The response was not encouraging considering the number of children to be evacuated.

#### Communal Meals

The desirability of arrangements for mid-day meals for evacuated children was apparent. Accordingly, local authorities were advised

<sup>1</sup> Department of Health for Scotland, D.P. Memorandum E.V.S. 3, par. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 54.

to consider what could be done and to discuss proposals with the Education Authority for the county. Householders receiving billeting allowances were expected to make a suitable payment where the billeted children received such meals. Further, it was considered that the organisation of communal meals was a matter which could with advantage be discussed by local authorities with voluntary organisations such as Women's Voluntary Services for Civil Defence, 'since this is a service in the organisation and operation of which voluntary effort would play an important part.'<sup>1</sup>

#### Clothes and Equipment

No obligation was to be imposed on householders to provide clothing or footwear for children who were billeted in their homes. The repair of children's personal equipment and the necessary washing and mending of clothes were considered 'important fields for voluntary effort.' In the *Points for Householders* the hope was expressed that assistance would be given in communal washing and mending.

#### Bedding and Blankets

The Government was prepared to provide bedding to householders willing to receive children. Central stores were to be established from which local authorities could draw in times of emergency. Delivery to reception areas of beds, blankets and mackintosh overlays was arranged. A partial distribution had been made to some local authorities before 26th August, but the Department of Health in a circular to local authorities of that date stated that 'it might be some time before supplies adequate to the needs of the district could be met in this way, in view of the great pressure and demands upon manufacturers arising from other defence requirements.'

#### Medical and Nursing Provision

The normal health services provided by local authorities under their child welfare and school health schemes were available to evacuated children in the receiving areas.

Householders were not expected to meet any expenditure for medical and nursing attention for the children under their care: 'It is important that local authorities should consider what steps can be taken to ensure that such attention is available for any children who fall ill.'<sup>2</sup> In the *Points for Householders* the position was clarified by the simple statement, 'You should call in your doctor or the district nurse in the ordinary way if the child's state seems to require it. You will not be responsible for the cost of medical attention.' In September 1939 the Secretary of

<sup>1</sup> Department of Health for Scotland, D.P. Memorandum E.V.S. 3, par. 50.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 56.

State for Scotland announced that when necessary the charge for attendance on unaccompanied children should be dealt with under arrangements made by the British Medical Association with the Local Medical War Committees. Where a child was accompanied by its parent, the responsibility for calling in and remunerating the doctor remained with the parent.<sup>1</sup> By June 1940 it was decided that an agreed payment of 10s. was to be made for domiciliary medical attendance upon each unaccompanied child, and the Scottish Committee of the British Medical Association defined this as such 'medical attendance as is ordinarily given by general medical practitioners including the supply of such medicines and dressings as are usually provided under the National Health Insurance Acts.'<sup>2</sup> Householders undertaking nursing of minor ailments in the billet were paid an additional allowance of 5s. per week on due medical certification being forthcoming.<sup>3</sup>

In accordance with their statutory duties the public health authorities were held responsible for taking adequate steps to deal with any outbreaks of infectious disease. Existing hospitals were to be made available, and plans were to be drafted for the use of other suitable buildings if the necessity should arise. Similarly, for illnesses other than infectious disease, hospital or other accommodation was to be provided where necessary. The provision under the Government evacuation scheme included the setting up by receiving authorities of twenty-one *ad hoc* sick-bays for the nursing of minor ailments in evacuated children. The extra cost for such services was not to fall upon local rates.

#### Large Houses and Camps

The use of large houses was authorised. Specially qualified helpers might be employed from the sending areas, but it was necessary 'to recruit the greatest possible number of volunteers in the receiving areas.' Local authorities were invited to survey such houses and estimate what equipment was necessary, and to report what articles might be voluntarily contributed and which would have to be purchased. The authorities in the sending area would be responsible for paying the staff; other approved costs would be met by the Government.

The construction of hatted camps had been authorised by the Camps Act, 1939. Introduced as an experiment, the camps were to be used as country schools for city scholars for part of the year and as billets for evacuees in time of war. At the outbreak of war some five or six had been constructed in Great Britain, while twenty-six more were being erected.<sup>4</sup> The Government was unwilling to build more because of the general demand for labour and material 'in connection with hatted

<sup>1</sup> *The Scotsman*, 23.9.1939.

<sup>2</sup> Department of Health for Scotland, Circular 14 (1939).

<sup>3</sup> Do., Circular 138 (1940).

accommodation for other essential purposes.<sup>1</sup> Only five were completed in Scotland, and in February 1940 the Minister of Health announced that no further building of camps would be authorised until there had been time to review the working of those already authorised.<sup>2</sup>

#### Liaison Officers

During the period of evacuation one of His Majesty's Inspectors of Schools was to act in each county as the Government's liaison officer. That officer was to be available for consultation by the County Clerk or by a Town Clerk on any points of difficulty which might arise.

#### Teachers' Support

On 11th December 1938 delegates from Local Associations of the Educational Institute of Scotland met at Perth, when continued co-operation of the Educational Institute with the Government was unanimously approved, and Directors of Education were promised full support. It was suggested that the Associations should confer with the local authorities in devising the evacuation plans and numerous constructive proposals were formulated.

#### Criticisms of the Plan

At the time of the publication of *Memorandum E.V.S.* 3 it became apparent that problems concerning air raid precautions, housing accommodation, billeting and transport had occupied the major portion of the activities of the Government Departments concerned with evacuation. The necessity for completing arrangements for billeting in large houses, for the provision of communal meals and community services had been recognised but the plans outlined were left very vague. While Government Departments had often given advice regarding the desirability of conferences between sending and receiving authorities to discuss evacuation arrangements, either through procrastination or reluctance there was an absence of an adequate number of camps, of the reconditioning of large houses, of the provision of new depots for communal feeding, of the adaptation of premises as community centres, of the enrolment of social service workers, of details of provision for secondary education in rural areas, of any official scheme for payment of billeting or other allowances to teachers, and of the rates of financial contributions to be paid by parents of evacuated children. In addition, no information was given in advance to evacuees of their destination.

<sup>1</sup> *Hansard*, 5.10.1939, col. 2108.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.2.1940, col. 1532.

'Thus, surrounding the scheme with a lack of precision the Ministry of Health threw a burden of responsibility upon the local authorities and looked for a volume of voluntary effort to provide services that the Government was unwilling to organise or pay for.'<sup>1</sup>

## II (b). EDUCATIONAL<sup>E</sup> PROVISIONS<sup>2</sup>

The suggestion that the Directors of Education in each of the sending areas should meet Directors of Education of all the reception areas to discuss the Government evacuation scheme for children was made in a circular issued by the Scottish Education Department.<sup>3</sup>

'The scheme raises difficult educational problems for the receiving areas,' it stated. 'No previous experience is available on which to work and a solution that will provide satisfactorily for continuing the education of the evacuees, as well as of the children permanently resident in the districts into which large numbers of city children will be placed, must, in the circumstances, depend largely on experiment.'

Responsibility for the education of the evacuated children would fall on the Education Authorities of the reception areas. The extent to which the necessary arrangements could be made in advance of the emergency depended largely on the accuracy of the forecast of the number of children to be evacuated to the several parishes in an Authority's area, and this would naturally depend on transport complications and the uncertainty of parents' intentions.

It was estimated that approximately half the number of persons to be accommodated would be school children. The Scottish Education Department compared the figures in these lists with the returns of school accommodation furnished by the Authorities and ascertained that only in a few areas did the maximum number of children for whom housing accommodation was available in a parish exceed that for whom school places were available, if what is known as the double-shift system was adopted and other suitable buildings were utilised. It was expected that in general the double-shift system of itself would suffice to absorb the incoming children, but that in many districts full-time education for both the native and the incoming children would be possible by utilising the existing school accommodation to its maximum capacity. If all but a small minority could be thus accommodated the use of supplementary buildings for the remainder would obviate recourse to the double shift for all.

<sup>1</sup> Richard Padley and Margaret Cole (ed.), *Evacuation Survey*. London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1940. Chapters II and III.

<sup>2</sup> Summarised from *The Scotsman*, 19.6.1939.

<sup>3</sup> *Scottish Education Department, Circular 121* (19.6.1939).

### Safeguarding School Accommodation

The requirements of the evacuated children made it essential that schools in the reception areas should continue to be available for educational purposes during the emergency.

'School buildings should not, save in the last resort, be taken for use as first aid posts or for other purposes under the scheme of Air Raid Precautions for the general public,' the circular stated. 'Such use will be sanctioned only in cases where the Department of Health for Scotland are satisfied that no other suitable accommodation is available.'

### Travelling Facilities for School Children

The Department had directed the attention of the Traffic Commissioners to the dependence on motor transport of educational provision in rural areas, and had expressed the hope that facilities for the conveyance of children to and from school would continue during the emergency. The Department trusted that Education Authorities, in consultation with the receiving authorities, would effect such local adjustments, when evacuation had taken place, as would ensure that pupils were boarded as near as possible to the school which they were to attend.

### Evacuation of Secondary Pupils

The Government scheme made no provision for the evacuation of secondary schools as units. As a general rule secondary pupils were to assemble and travel with the pupils of a specified primary school, and be boarded in the same localities. They would be expected to attend the same secondary school as was attended by the pupils residing in the town or village to which they were sent. If the transport facilities upon which they had to depend for reaching the school were withdrawn, the Education Authority were to endeavour to secure that the secondary pupils were transferred to quarters near the secondary school. Failing that, special arrangements were to be made for their instruction at the nearest primary school.

### Closing of Schools

On the declaration of an emergency, all day schools were to be closed for instruction for a period of one week. The subsequent re-opening would, in the case of each school, depend primarily on local circumstances, but it was obviously desirable in the interests of householders and of the morale of the children that the period of closure in reception areas and in neutral areas should be as short as possible. It was hoped that, save in exceptional circumstances, the closure would not be longer than two weeks.

### Education Costs

Responsibility for the cost of the education of evacuated children and for teachers' salaries was to fall on the Education Authority of the evacuating area, and it was not intended that the receiving Authority should be put to any additional educational expense by having children billeted in their area. Provision was made in the Civil Defence Bill for defraying from the Exchequer any expenditure due solely to evacuation and falling outside the normal expenditure of an Education Authority.

### Communal Meals

The Scottish Education Department assumed that the Authorities would respond to requests for assistance in connection with the provision of communal meals by

- providing equipment and service;
- arranging for the fullest use of any existing dining-room accommodation or equipment in the schools;
- allowing Domestic Science rooms and other suitable rooms to be used, wherever possible, to supplement or provide such accommodation;
- making the services of their Domestic Science teachers available for advice or assistance in the provision of meals;
- permitting their school medical staff to visit feeding centres and advise on dietary.

### Relaxation of the Code

Commenting generally on the working of the scheme, the circular indicated that in conditions of national emergency rigid adherence to regulations designed to operate in normal circumstances would be impracticable, and the Department would consequently authorise some relaxation of the requirements of the Day Schools Code as and when such a course might become necessary. Observance of the Registration Rules would nevertheless continue to be required.

### Supervision of the Children

'It is obvious that supervision of the children must be extended beyond the hours of the school day,' it went on to state, 'and, if housing arrangements are to work smoothly, householders in the receiving areas must be relieved, as far as possible, of additional duties towards the children they have undertaken to board. The care of children is a skilled occupation, but there is no reason to suppose that the necessary help will not be forthcoming.'

Outside school hours the activities of the children were to be directed into channels which would develop in them a feeling of responsibility and usefulness to the community in which they had been placed. For the remainder of their spare time it might be possible to supplement or even, to some extent, to replace formal physical exercises by organised games and free play in the open and to arouse their interest in the life of the countryside. No suitable means of occupying the children's time was to be neglected, and for the youngest of them rest periods were to be arranged.

### The Three Rs

'In a double-shift system something must go,' said the circular, 'and presumably the elimination should seek to spare as far as possible those things which are fundamental in the sense of being the basis of all-learning and in which it will be most difficult to recover lost ground in later years. For the primary school these are the three Rs.'

### Secondary Education

'In the secondary school,' the circular continued, 'uncertainty as to the number of secondary pupils likely to be evacuated to particular localities makes it even more difficult to visualise conditions. In many county secondary schools classes, even in the first three years, are under the permissible maximum, and such classes may be able to absorb numbers of evacuated pupils without increase either of accommodation or of teaching staff. In the fourth and fifth years, where classes are sometimes very small, absorption should be even less difficult. With careful planning beforehand, it should be possible to undertake a reasonable limited scheme of instruction, if the capacity for independent work on the part of the pupils is developed. As in the primary school, full-time education should be arranged whenever possible, and fourth- and fifth-year pupils placed on the half-time system last of all.'

### Difficult Children

A small number of children would not be acceptable in ordinary billets because of behaviour difficulties. 'For these children,' it was stated, 'accommodation of hostel type in an empty house or other suitable accommodation, with a staff experienced in child-guidance methods, is desirable.'

### Staffing

Teachers on evacuation duty were to serve under the direction of the receiving Authority acting on behalf of the evacuating Authority, but it was not contemplated that their services would be restricted to the teaching of evacuated children.

### Teachers' Record Forms

Forms supplied by the Scottish Education Department were issued to teachers who were to remain in the reception areas to continue the education of evacuated school children. Two copies of the form were to be completed as soon as possible after evacuation had taken place, one to be forwarded to the offices of the Education Authority of the receiving area and the other returned to the offices of the Education Authority of the sending area.

### II (c). ARRANGEMENTS IN SENDING AREAS<sup>1</sup>

#### Definition of Terms used in Instructions issued to Glasgow Schools

##### Assembly School

The assembly school was the school at which persons to be evacuated would report on the day appointed for evacuation. All primary schools and all secondary schools which had primary departments on a territorial basis were to be used as assembly schools.

##### Clearing School

A number of schools, most of which would also be assembly schools, were to be designated 'clearing schools' and would be the headquarters or control centres for the schools of the surrounding district. The clearing school was, as a rule, in close proximity to a railway station, and the head teacher of the school was to be responsible for communicating to schools in his area the instructions of the railway officer in regard to entraining.

##### Assembly of Pupils at Primary Schools

All taking part in the Government scheme were to assemble at primary schools or at secondary schools which had primary departments. Pupils of primary schools or departments were to assemble at the schools which they attended. Pupils of post-primary schools and departments and women accompanying preschool children, including children who were in attendance at nursery schools or classes, were to assemble at the primary school attended by other members of the family or at the primary school normally attended by the children of the street in which they lived. Where members of families were attending different primary schools, boys and girls of the same family were to report to the same school in order that they might be evacuated to the same area.

<sup>1</sup> Summarised from *Instructions to Head Teachers of Schools*, issued by R. M. Allardyce, Director of Education, Glasgow. These instructions, issued for Glasgow, may be taken as typical.

### Special Duties of Head Teachers of Clearing Schools

Head teachers of clearing schools were to act as liaison officers between the railway officer at the entraining station and the head teachers of the assembly schools in the area. Communication between the entraining station, the clearing school, and the various assembly schools was to be by telephone or, failing this, by responsible messengers selected by head teachers for the purpose. Senior boys who had bicycles and who were not being evacuated were to be allocated to clearing schools to act as orderlies.

Head teachers of clearing schools were not expected to travel with their school parties. They were to remain on duty until evacuation from their area had been completed, and the duty of marshalling and supervising the school party was therefore delegated to the second master or other promoted teacher on the staff. Head teachers of clearing schools were to attend at the Education Offices on the evening of each day on which evacuation took place in their areas to report to the evacuation officer and to deliver the special register of persons evacuated from assembly schools within the district of their clearing schools. If necessary, arrangements were to be made later for such head teachers to join their school parties in the receiving areas.

### Police Arrangements

The chief constable arranged to have one police officer detailed to each clearing school during the period of evacuation for that area, and at least two officers posted to each assembly school on the actual day of evacuation, to assist in maintaining order, to escort parties from the assembly school to the entraining station, and to ensure safe crossing at busy thoroughfares.

### First Aid Arrangements

Provision was to be made for the services of nurses for first aid on the days of evacuation. As far as possible medical officers were to be present during the times of assembly.

### Voluntary Helpers

Voluntary helpers were to be attached to each school to assist teachers in supervising children on the day of evacuation. Many of these helpers were also to proceed to the receiving areas and, if necessary, to remain there to attend to the general comfort and wellbeing of evacuated children. Senior girls who were in attendance at secondary schools and who were not being evacuated were also to be attached to assembly schools to assist with the younger children.

### Leaflets, Posters, Etc. in Schools in advance of Emergency

A letter of instructions was to be issued to parents indicating the day, time and place of assembly for those to be evacuated. It also provided particulars of the equipment to be brought by each child, and informed parents that head teachers and other members of the staff would be available for consultation on the evening prior to evacuation.

Posters were to be affixed to school notice boards with information similar to that contained in the letter of instructions.

Each child and adult to be evacuated had to bear an identity label showing name, address and other particulars.

All teachers, voluntary helpers, boy orderlies, and senior girls acting as helpers were to wear an official armlet. The armlet gave the wearer the right of admission to the entraining station and indicated that he was authorised to act in an official capacity.

Register sheets, to be completed in triplicate, giving particulars of all who were evacuated from the school; were to be prepared in advance.

### Message to Schools that Evacuation would take place

If the Government decided to put the evacuation scheme into operation head teachers of assembly schools were to be immediately informed by telegram.

### Action to be taken on Receipt of Message to Evacuate

When schools were in session a copy of the letter of instructions to parents was to be issued to each pupil in school. Before distribution the teacher was to insert the day and time of assembly for the school. Teachers were to ensure that copies of the letter were delivered to the parents of children absent from school.

The possibility of an emergency occurring when the schools were not in session could not be ignored, and preparations were made for such a contingency. With this in view, head teachers had to select a suitable number of senior pupils residing within easy distance of the school, who were to be advised to hold themselves in readiness to deliver the letters of instructions to the homes of the pupils in the event of an emergency occurring at the week-end or during a holiday period. The day and time of assembly were to be inserted before delivery. To facilitate the work of delivery, head teachers were advised to draw up lists showing the names and addresses of the parents or guardians of the pupils on the school roll arranged in streets or districts, and to make each senior pupil responsible for the delivery of the letters of instructions in an area with which he was familiar. Lists of pupils selected for the duty were to be periodically revised, particularly before holidays, and arrangements made to have substitutes always available in the event of

a pupil being unable to undertake delivery. A copy of the list of the chosen pupils was to be in the hands of the janitor so that, if necessary, he could arrange for the summoning of such pupils. Intimation would also be given in the Press and an announcement broadcast.

Notices of the day and time of evacuation were to be prominently displayed on the school buildings.

Head teachers were to attend at the school from 6.30 to 9.0 p.m. on the evening preceding evacuation to meet parents. Assistant teachers were also to be selected to attend at the same time.

### Action at Schools on Day of Evacuation

No parents or other adults, except women being evacuated with pre-school children, were to be admitted within the school gates.

It was left to the discrimination of individual head teachers to arrange how the school premises could best be used for the assembling and grouping of children and mothers. Classrooms and school halls were to be used for assembly and also the school playgrounds if the weather was suitable. Each group was to consist of approximately 50 persons, and was to be in charge of a teacher, with an authorised helper. The groups were to be kept intact from the time of formation to the time of entraining. The speedy mustering of groups to enable registration to be quickly carried out was of special importance, and head teachers were urged to adopt in advance of an emergency a scheme for the grouping of children and mothers on the morning of evacuation, keeping in mind that each assembly school would require to deal with pre-school, primary and post-primary children, and with women. Such a scheme might provide for all members of a family reporting to the classroom of the oldest child attending the primary school or for an alphabetical grouping of persons. Whatever arrangement was adopted, all members of the same family were to be allocated to the same classroom.

A copy of the special register, completed in triplicate, was to be issued to each teacher in charge of a group. The teacher was to verify the information contained in it at once and make any amendments necessary. Of the three copies of the lists of persons evacuated, one ~~copy~~ was to be sent to the chief evacuation officer, the second copy to be retained in the school for record purposes, and the third to be forwarded to the reception officer at the destination railhead.

The issue of identity labels was to take place as early as possible on the morning of evacuation. The completed identity label was to be fastened round the neck of each child and adult to be evacuated.

Parents were requested to see that their children reported to the assembly school equipped with the following articles: a warm coat or

mackintosh, one change of underclothing and stockings, handkerchiefs, house shoes or rubber shoes, nightclothes and toothbrush, a comb, towel, soap and facecloth, one gas mask in its box container, one tin cup, one day's supply of food. No one was to take more than a little hand luggage, clearly labelled. No child who was suffering from any illness was to be sent. If the parent was in any doubt, he or she was to consult a doctor or clinic.

A note of the approximate number of adults and children to be evacuated from the school was to be communicated as early as possible on the day of evacuation to the head teacher of the clearing school for the information of the railway officer.

The provision of transport, billets, etc. for each school was made in respect of a number estimated to represent the maximum number of persons who would probably wish in an emergency to be attached to the school. It was assumed that this would be in excess of the number of persons who would actually assemble on the day of evacuation. Where a school had been allocated to more than one burgh or parish in the counties, some adjustment of the numbers to be billeted in each area would require to be made prior to the departure of the school parties on the day of evacuation. For example, should a school be destined for A Burgh, and B and C Parishes, with available accommodation for 1,000, 750 and 250 persons respectively, and if only 1,600 assembled to travel as the school party, then, to secure an equitable distribution of the evacuated persons over the three reception areas, the number to be sent to each was to be scaled down in proportion to the accommodation available in each: that is, A Burgh would be required to billet 800, B Parish, 600, and C Parish, 200.

Supplies of food were to be available for those who had been unable, or who had neglected, to provide rations for the day of evacuation.

A book containing 50 railway vouchers was to be available in each sending school. The vouchers were to be issued to teachers, voluntary helpers and senior girl helpers assisting in the evacuation who might desire to return home after evacuation had taken place. The vouchers had to be exchanged at the railway booking office for a railway ticket before entering.

#### Movement to Entraining Station

No party was to leave the assembly school until an instruction to do so had been received from the railway officer through the head teacher of the clearing school. When the instruction had been given the school party was to march in groups direct to the entraining station. Buses were to be provided at certain schools to convey invalids and women with very young children.

### Intimation of Whereabouts of Evacuated Children

On the day following evacuation posters were to be exhibited on the school premises indicating the location of the children evacuated. The janitor was to be notified, prior to the departure of the school party, of the reception area. Parents were then to be informed that they could communicate with their children by addressing their correspondence in a manner similar to the following: John Brown, c/o Teacher in Charge of Evacuated Party, Name of receiving area.

### Duties of Teachers

It was to be understood that teachers were to hold themselves in readiness at all times, including holiday periods, to undertake at short notice whatever duties might be allotted to them in connection with the Government evacuation scheme.

### Rehearsals

During June 1939 unofficial rehearsals were held for school children in most schools.

On Thursday, 22nd June, the first try-out in Scotland of the Government evacuation scheme for children took place at Cupar, Fife. The experiment was attended by Government officials, representatives of Fife and Edinburgh Education Committees, and the police. Some 200 children acted as evacuees so that the arrangements for reception and billeting might be tested.<sup>1</sup> In Clydebank, Dundee, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Rosyth rehearsals of the assembling arrangements were carried out in schools concerned with evacuation.<sup>2</sup>

### II (d). ARRANGEMENTS IN RECEIVING AREAS

The County Clerk, or the Town Clerk as the case might be, was to be appointed by the local authority to act as the chief reception officer.

The chief reception officer was empowered to appoint an assistant reception officer for each detraining station or pierhead, and billeting officers for each district. Later under the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act the Secretary of State for Scotland in exercise of his powers under Regulation 22 of the Defence (General) Regulations, 1939, delegated the power of appointing billeting officers to the Provosts of burghs and the Conveners of county authorities.

<sup>1</sup> *The Scotsman*, 19.6.1939.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.7.1939, 28.8.1939 and 20.8.1939. Scottish Education

### Assistant Reception Officers<sup>1</sup>

The chief reception officer was to be responsible for supplying his assistants with an authorisation card, a statement showing the times of arrival of trains, boats or buses, a statement showing the number of evacuated persons to be expected and a statement showing the number of persons allocated to each billeting district. In addition, the assistant reception officers were to receive, where possible, intimation of the number of evacuated persons travelling by each train. Such information was to be forwarded by the railway officers at entraining stations and was to be transmitted forthwith to the appropriate billeting officers and to the chief reception officer.

Detraining stations were selected because of their proximity to the actual destination of the evacuated persons. Assistant reception officers were to superintend the transport of persons whose billets were at some distance from the billeting headquarters. Where road transport was required the Traffic Commissioners were to supply the necessary vehicles and a traffic controller. In co-operation with the billeting officers voluntary transport was to be arranged to enable young children, expectant mothers and others to proceed to their new homes.

At detraining points the assistant reception officers were to arrange:

- that the station and its approaches were cleared;
- that first aid staff and equipment were available;
- that persons were to be present to take groups to the billeting officers and to assist in carrying luggage or to aid young or sick children to the waiting rooms or halls;
- that schools and halls should be used to shelter the evacuees until billets were settled;
- that lavatory accommodation was available;
- that evacuated persons were supplied on arrival with hot food or drink and that voluntary agencies were enrolled to undertake the work;
- that the appropriate number of persons was sent to each billeting district;
- ~~that the 48-hour emergency rations forwarded by the Government to each detraining station were distributed to the evacuees.~~

### The Billeting Officers<sup>2</sup>

The persons selected as billeting officers were to be as far as possible persons known to the householders of the district and possessing an intimate knowledge of the district.

The chief reception officer was to be responsible for supplying the

<sup>1</sup> Department of Health for Scotland, D.P. Memorandum E.V.S. 3, Appendix III.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Appendix IV.

billeting officers with an authorisation card, copies of *Memorandum E.V.S.*<sup>2</sup> showing the accommodation available for the reception of evacuees (children unaccompanied by their mothers were to be sent to houses where householders had expressed their willingness to care for children, other evacuees were to be billeted in houses where accommodation was shown as available for 'others'), a statement showing the number of evacuated persons allocated to the district and the day of their expected arrival, and a register in which to enter particulars of evacuated persons. This register was to be completed in triplicate and sent to the chief reception officer. Teachers or helpers accompanying children were to hand over the school registers of evacuated persons in order that the billeting officer might complete his. The details required to be entered were: the names of all persons billeted, their home addresses, the schools in the sending areas at which they had assembled, and the names and addresses of householders with whom accommodation had been found for them. The billeting officer also received a supply of billeting forms A and B. He was to complete a form for each house in which evacuated persons were accommodated and was to give it to the householder to enable him to obtain payment at the local Post Office for the accommodation provided. Form A was to be supplied to householders who provided board and lodging for unaccompanied children of any age. Form B was to be supplied to householders who provided lodging, but not board, for mothers and their children. In the latter case accommodation and access to water and sanitary arrangements were to be provided, and the hope was expressed 'that householders will provide facilities for cooking,' but householders were not required to provide food.

Billeting was legalised by Part VIII of the Civil Defence Act, 1939, and later authorised under the regulations passed under the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act.<sup>1</sup>

The chief reception officer also supplied the billeting officer with identification forms for mothers and adults coming with younger children. Such forms were to be issued to any person who was without means and could not obtain money from her husband or from the parents or guardians of the children in her care. On application to the local officer of the Ministry of Labour assistance would be granted within 48 hours of the arrival of evacuated persons in the receiving area.

#### Provision of Meals

The Scottish Education Department issued a circular<sup>2</sup> concerning the provision of meals for evacuated school children. It was not contemplated that meals would be provided by the receiving authorities

<sup>1</sup> Civil Defence Act, 1939, 2 & 3 Geo. 6, Ch. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Scottish Education Department Circular No. 16, 1940.

for children from the sending areas free of charge. The need, it was considered, would not arise because the billeting allowance paid to householders with whom the children were resident was intended to provide adequate and suitable food. A number of children would, it was hoped, be fed at mid-day at communal centres, payment being made for meals.

The provision of free milk to necessitous children was to be continued. Until an official list had been despatched, the sending authorities were empowered to authorise the receiving authorities to accept a provisional list to be furnished by teachers accompanying the children. The cost was to be borne, in the first instance, by the receiving Education Authority, and subsequently charged to the sending Authority. The extension to evacuated children of the milk-on-payment scheme was hoped for. The billeting householder, however, was not expected to pay for what was regarded as a special supplement to the child's diet, and the necessary half-pennies would therefore have to be forthcoming either from the children's parents or from the householders voluntarily.

#### II (e). BILLETING ALLOWANCES

The billeting officer completed the appropriate form for each house in which evacuated persons were accommodated and gave it to the householder to enable payment to be obtained at the local Post Office.

For householders providing board and lodging for unaccompanied school children the rates of billeting allowances were 10s. 6d. a week if the householder took only one child or 8s. 6d. a week if more than one was taken, but after 14th October 1939, 10s. 6d. was paid for each child over 16 years of age in every case.

To householders providing lodging, but not board, for mothers and their children, payment was made at the rate of 5s. a week for each adult or child over 14 years of age, and 3s. a week for each child under 14. These billeting allowances were payable in respect of mothers with children under 5 years of age normally resident in evacuation areas, who arranged to be received by relatives or friends in reception areas.<sup>1</sup>

#### ~~Increase of Billeting Allowances~~

From 31st May 1940 the rates of payment in respect of the older unaccompanied school children were revised as follows:<sup>2</sup>

Between 10 and 14 years . . . . .	10s. 6d. per week
Between 14 and 16 years . . . . .	12s. 6d. per week
Over 16 years of age . . . . .	15s. per week

<sup>1</sup> Department of Health for Scotland, Memorandum E.V.S. 43 (1939), and Department of Health for Scotland, D.P. Circulars 68 and 74 (1939).

<sup>2</sup> Department of Health for Scotland, Circular 98 (1940).

The rates were again increased in 1942 and the following increased rates became payable during the week beginning 1st May 1942:<sup>1</sup>

5 years and under 10 years . . . . .	10s. 6d.
10 years and under 12 years . . . . .	11s.
12 years and under 14 years . . . . .	12s.
14 years and under 16 years . . . . .	13s.
16 years and under 17 years . . . . .	15s. 6d.
17 years and over . . . . .	16s. 6d.

### Recovery of Allowance for Unaccompanied Children

Parents and others responsible for evacuated children were required to pay what they could afford towards the maintenance of the children. Only on 4th October 1939 was it announced that it was intended to seek recovery of part of the billeting allowance. The delay in making the announcement was unfortunate, since some parents refrained from sending their children for lack of this information at the time of evacuation, while other parents on hearing of the Government's intention recalled their children from the receiving areas.

The contention of the Government was that the unaccompanied children were being provided with board and lodging, and when necessary with medical attention at the expense of public funds, and that many parents would not wish this to continue indefinitely. It was decided that liability for repayment should not begin until 28th October, and that no request should be made for the period previous to that date. The cost to public funds of the maintenance of each child was calculated to be about 9s. per week; but in consideration of other costs borne by the parents and the difficulties of families with low incomes, the concession was made that a payment of 6s. a week for each child would be accepted as full discharge of the liability.

Parents who could not afford to pay the standard charge of 6s. per week were required to pay an amount proportionate to their financial resources. The method of assessment was to ascertain the net income of the parents (that is, gross income less insurance contributions and travelling expenses to and from work), and to deduct from this the amount paid in rent and allowances for the personal needs of members of the household other than evacuated children. Of the balance of income so calculated, one half was regarded as available for the repayment of billeting charges. For example, the case of a man with an income of £3 a week, two of whose children were evacuated, might be dealt with in the following way:

<sup>1</sup> Department of Health for Scotland, Circular 45 (1942).

Total income . . . . .	£3 0 0
<i>Deductions:</i>	
Travelling expenses and insurance . . . .	£ 4 0
Rent . . . . .	10 0
Allowance for personal needs of husband and wife . . . . .	1 5 0
Allowance for dependent child of 16 or over at home . . . . .	10 0
	—
Balance . . . . .	2 9 0
Half Balance	11 0
	5 6

The man is asked to pay 5s. 6d., namely, 2s. 9d. for each child. Where a family had burdens of an exceptional kind, the responsible officers of the local authorities who collected the repayments were empowered to take these also into account. Where the parent saw ground for questioning the decision of the officer who assessed the amount of the contribution, the dispute could be referred to an independent referee nominated from persons of standing and experience in matters of the kind. The recommendation of the referee was treated as final.

No contributions were collected under this arrangement from parents whose children had been evacuated if the parents were in receipt of unemployment assistance or public assistance, since the allowances paid to these parents were adjusted to meet the altered circumstances of their families.

#### Recovery of Allowances for Mothers and Children

Under Regulation 22 of the Defence (General) Regulations, 1939, billeting allowances were fixed by the Secretary of State and the amount due was paid by the Government to a householder for furnished accommodation made available to any person evacuated from whom this sum might be recovered by the Government summarily as a civil debt. Householders providing temporary accommodation for friends, relatives or neighbours rendered homeless by enemy action, or for persons who had evacuated themselves privately, could receive billeting allowances; the recovery of contributions from the persons lodged followed the same procedure as with persons lodged under official arrangements.<sup>1</sup>

#### Allowances to Teachers

Under the scheme of allowances for teachers on evacuation duty, transferred staff were entitled to allowances at the rate of 14s. per week,

<sup>1</sup> Department of Health for Scotland, Circular 171 (5.7.1941), Circular 241 (16.9.1941) and Circular 74 (29.5.1942).

provided that the teachers' commitments, of which account was being taken, amounted to not less than 21s. a week.<sup>1</sup>

If these commitments amounted to less than 21s. a week the allowance payable was reduced by the amount by which the commitments fell short of that sum.

All teachers were billeted at the 5s. rate, and this sum was not recoverable from them. Teachers who made their own arrangements for accommodation in the reception areas, with the consent of the reception authority, were eligible for the weekly allowance of 5s. in addition to any other allowances to which they might be entitled. In no case, however, could an allowance exceeding 19s. be paid, namely, 14s. plus 5s. in lieu of billeting.

Continuing expenditure on household commitments at home were taken to include, in the case of rented unfurnished premises, rent, rates and house insurance, and in the case of property owned by the teacher, the gross annual value of the house for Income Tax under Schedule A, or mortgage payments if greater, net feu duty, rates, house insurance and Income Tax payments. The cost of furniture storage might also be included.

The allowances to teachers became operative as from 29th January 1940, but the absence of retrospective payment to September 1939 was an injustice to those teachers who had borne the brunt of evacuation in most difficult days.

#### Allowances to Non-educational Staff

The same general arrangements regarding allowances applied in Scotland to members of the non-teaching staff of Education Authorities of sending areas who might be transferred in a quasi-permanent capacity to receiving areas in connection with the Government evacuation scheme.

#### II (f). TEACHERS AND THE EVACUATION SCHEME

Teachers played a large and important part in evacuation at all stages, sometimes within the ambit of their professional duties, sometimes voluntarily in their concern for the welfare and happiness of the children. In the complex situation created by the partial migration of the school population to new regions many problems arose for them as teachers and as persons for which solutions were gradually worked out as necessity arose.

Most teachers, under their contract, can be transferred at the discretion of their Authority from one school to another within the Authority's area. But there are no legal provisions dealing directly

<sup>1</sup> Scottish Education Department and Department of Health for Scotland, Circular 169 (17.6.1940).

with teachers' rights and duties where teachers are transferred from their own area to one under a different Authority. Where, for military or other reasons, the Government makes evacuation compulsory the question of a teacher's right to remain attached to a specific school or county does not arise. In that situation Regulation 21 of the Defence (General) Regulations, 1939, would apply to teachers as members of the civil population. But in the ordinary circumstances of evacuation situations inevitably arose that called for adjustment of one kind or another. To meet these the Department of Health for Scotland and the Scottish Education Department from time to time issued circulars and memoranda indicating what might reasonably be expected of teachers in relation to their evacuation duties. The central principle in all the recommendations is that the evacuated teacher remains officially the servant of the sending Authority and that the original rates of salary and conditions of service continue to apply during evacuation duty.

#### Duties of Evacuated Teachers

'Teachers who accompany the children will serve under the direction of the receiving Authority acting on behalf of the evacuating Authority. While they will normally, no doubt, be employed in teaching the children who came with them, it is not contemplated that their services will necessarily be restricted to the teaching of these children. In small schools, for instance, where there are composite classes consisting of children at different stages, it may be found advantageous to make such adjustments, under the double-shift system, as will result in the formation of more homogeneous classes consisting partly of native and partly of incoming children.'<sup>1</sup>

From this it would appear that the Authority in the receiving area had the power to allocate to schools teachers who came into the area under the evacuation scheme. Presumably teachers' record forms had been supplied to them so that they might make the best use of these teachers according to their qualifications. They also had the right to transfer teachers from one school to another if this was found to be necessary. In a school the head master has power to allocate his staff as he sees fit, and to call upon them to perform any duties pertaining to their office. Teachers dissatisfied with the use made of their services could appeal to the Director of Education in the area, and if satisfaction was not obtained, they could communicate with their own Director, or bring the matter to the notice of the officials of the Educational Institute of Scotland.

An evacuated teacher whose services were no longer required or wanted in the receiving area might be instructed to return home by the Director of Education in that area; or he might be recalled by his own

<sup>1</sup> *Scottish Education Department, Circular 121 (19.6.1939).*

Director. In either case the teacher had no option but to carry out the instructions given him.

Questions arose regarding the duties which might be imposed upon evacuated teachers. In this respect it is clear that teachers were evacuated as teachers. Their primary concern was the educational interests of the children entrusted to them. Whatever services they gave outside school could not be exacted; they were given by the good will of the teacher. A billeting officer had no control over teachers either in or out of school hours and could not call upon teachers to carry out any duties in connection with the conduct of evacuation or the supervision of children.

### Responsibility Payments

The general upset in school organisation throughout the country led to complications in regard to responsibility payments. Evacuation official and unofficial, occupation of schools by branches of H.M. Forces and by Civil Defence services, the use of schools as rest centres, the destruction, complete or partial, of schools by enemy action—these among other things led to some schools having the average number on the roll considerably reduced and to other schools having a greatly increased school population. The problem of responsibility payments was therefore not one at issue between the sending areas and the receiving areas. It was not even a purely Scottish matter, as in England the Burnham Scales provided for responsibility payments based on the size of the school population.

The legal position was that under Section 6 of the 1918 Act Authorities had to submit Schemes of Salaries. The approval of the Scottish Education Department conferred legal rights upon the teachers to receive these salaries. (Section 55 of the 1872 Act, however, still left it to the discretion of the local authorities to make any payments as salary to any teacher or any class of teacher.) The Salary Scales were not to be less than the minima which were set down in the Minimum National Scales. Under the Minimum National Scales Regulations the Department could direct that any basis for responsibility payments might be approved, but it generally accepted the basis of the average number of children on the roll for the previous school session. The second proviso was that responsibility payments of head masters depended upon the number of teachers normally employed.

From the very beginning of the evacuation scheme it was definitely stated that the evacuated children were to be considered as belonging to the sending area. To make this operative the Department laid down that separate returns should be made for the local children and for the evacuated children. Moreover, education grants were to continue on

the pre-war basis. The regulations regarding the Minimum National Scales stated that every Education Authority was to submit for the approval of the Department a list in which the schools were graded. Accordingly it would appear that no Education Authority has the power to change the grading of any particular school from the grading in the last list of schools approved by the Scottish Education Department. It is therefore improbable that any change will be made for the duration of the war, since the Scottish Education Department is likely to rule that the number of teachers for grant purposes is the number normally employed; the point at which 'the number of teachers normally to be employed' is likely to be determined, is the position at the outbreak of hostilities.

### III. THE FIRST EVACUATION AND AFTER

If careful planning, compassionate interest and unremitting labour could have brought success, the evacuation scheme should have been a very great success. From early in 1938 till the present thousands of people of all sorts—officers of the local and the central Governments, teachers, W.V.S. personnel, men and women of good will with leisure and without, householders of all classes—have given ungrudging service to the national scheme for the dispersal of the children to comparative safety. But so far as the primary purpose of the scheme is concerned the results have been extremely disappointing. It has really added very little to the security of the boys and girls of the nation. When big air raids came, practically all the children were at home with their parents in the danger zone. Thinking of this, one newspaper writer summed up the situation as 'Love's Labour's Lost,' which is true and yet not true. Even being wise after the event nobody will dispute the soundness of the dispersal policy or grudge the efforts made to give it effect. In any case love's labour never does get lost. The thought given to the wellbeing of the young people may not have achieved what had been hoped, but it has quickened in the people of this country a fresh realisation of social evils as they affect childhood and youth, and it has set parents and teachers thinking in new ways about the upbringing and the schooling of the young.

The putting into practice of the evacuation schemes, and some of their outcomes in social and educational experiments, are presented in considerable detail in other sections of the present volume. Here it will be sufficient to give some of the more important facts and figures about the first evacuation and the modifications made later in the endeavour to keep the scheme in being.

### The First Defections

Altogether 175,812 persons were evacuated in Scotland in September 1939—62,059 unaccompanied children, 97,575 mothers and accompanied children, together with teachers and helpers. In addition there was a considerable number of mothers and children who moved privately.

Large as the numbers were they fell short of the numbers registered and still more of the numbers provided for. Only 32,000 people—roughly one third of the possible number—were evacuated from Edinburgh. The average number of children who reported at the 45 assembly points on the first day was 27 per cent. of that for which arrangements had been made. Considerable indifference was shown to the scheme in some of the least congested areas. At one school, where children had to report at 7 a.m., only 222 had arrived by 8.30 a.m.: the total expected had been 1,500. In a densely populated area, however, such as Gorgie, 1,500 reported for evacuation. Nearly 18,000 left Dundee, although 26,000 had taken part in the rehearsal of the scheme, and the quota was actually 37,000. From Glasgow 120,000 were removed in three days. Friday's total was 57 per cent. of those expected; Saturday's, 67 per cent.; and Sunday's, about 70 per cent. It was officially estimated that about 30,000 Glasgow school children, registered for evacuation, did not report at the assembly schools. Most of them were still in the city. A proportion had been sent by their parents to country districts, and a number due back from holiday had remained out of town. In Clydebank about a quarter of those not evacuated had registered for evacuation.

### The Drift Back

The drift back of evacuees was very rapid, even more rapid in Scotland, it would seem, than south of the Border, though there also it began immediately and went on to the same unhappy outcome.

The course of events is clearly indicated in the figures for the sample group of Clydebank and Glasgow children reported in a later article. From these it appears that 30 per cent. of the school children evacuated had returned by the end of September, 51 per cent. by the end of October, and 75 per cent. by Christmas. The rate of return then slowed down, but another 10 per cent. were back by Easter.

These figures are confirmed by an official return showing the position for Scotland as a whole in January 1940:

	Remaining in Receiving Areas (estimated)	Returned to Sending Areas (estimated)
School children . . . .	30,972	78,501
Preschool children . . . .	4,182	29,319
Mothers . . . .	3,043	21,226

What was happening may be illustrated from school returns in typical evacuation areas. Here are the numbers of evacuated children from all the Clydebank schools still remaining in the receiving areas in successive months up to the time of the blitz which destroyed some of them and closed them all in March 1941:

			Primary	Post-primary
1939	Roll at June . . . . .		5,700	1,940
	Number originally evacuated . . . . .		1,989	663
	Number still evacuated at			
	13th October . . . . .		1,301	480
	6th November . . . . .		955	418
	22nd November . . . . .		670	266
1940	9th January . . . . .		445	178
	7th February . . . . .		405	144
	6th March . . . . .		353	133
	3rd April . . . . .		333	125
	1st May . . . . .		302	119
	29th May . . . . .		284	110
	28th June . . . . .		281	104
	30th September . . . . .		209	84
	31st October . . . . .		194	79
	30th November . . . . .		183	80
	31st December . . . . .		179	81
1941	31st January . . . . .		156	75
	28th February . . . . .		112	52

The other side of the picture is shown in the data from Kilmarnock, a town about the same size as Clydebank, which received 1,140 evacuees from two Glasgow Catholic schools as well as a number of private evacuees.

			Evacuated under Scheme	Privately Evacuated
1939	3rd September . . . . .		1,140	?
	11th September . . . . .		673	257
	6th October . . . . .		386	267
	10th November . . . . .		208	203
	8th December . . . . .		158	162
1940	12th February . . . . .		81	135
	11th March . . . . .		57	124
	8th April . . . . .		56	113
	May . . . . .		52	96
	June . . . . .		56	97
	October . . . . .		37	131
	November . . . . .		35	144
	December . . . . .		33	163
1941	February . . . . .		38	151
	March . . . . .		46	139

### The First Supplementary Scheme

On 11th September 1939 schools were re-opened for a few days in the sending areas to give parents a further opportunity of registering children for evacuation. This time only children of school age were eligible, no parents or children under school age being considered. To allow all parents who desired their children to be evacuated the fullest opportunity of registering them, schools remained open until 8 o'clock in the evenings. There was, however, no rush on the part of parents to enrol their children; in some schools not a single name was registered.

In view of the much smaller number involved the supplementary evacuation did not take place as a single large-scale movement but was spread over weeks, the children travelling by ordinary trains and buses, and not by special conveyances as before. Every child was specially examined, and clothing was not approved unless both quantity and quality were satisfactory.

In Edinburgh 3,000 children were registered by 17th September, in Glasgow, 5,000, and in Clydebank, Dundee and Rosyth the numbers were correspondingly unsatisfactory. When the children were summoned for medical inspection before proceeding on evacuation the majority in most areas failed to appear.

The supplementary evacuation of 1939 was a failure; the numbers concerned were very small and no remedial measures other than the absence of mothers and stringent medical inspection were introduced.

### The Second Scheme

In February 1940 a new scheme was announced after a review of existing evacuation arrangements had been made.

Evacuation was still kept voluntary, but parents were required to sign an undertaking that they would send their children away when ordered and that they would leave their children in the reception areas until the school parties returned. Only if air raids developed on a scale involving serious and continuous bombing were schools to be evacuated. No mothers or preschool children were eligible for registration, and schools were to be evacuated as units.<sup>1</sup>

The provision of sick-bays and of hostels for difficult children and for those who were unsuitable for billeting in private houses was foreshadowed. A change in billeting allowances was announced—from 2nd March 1940 the rate for children of 14 years being raised to 10s. 6d. per week. Conferences were held at which Officers of the Department of Health, the Clerks of the receiving County Councils, and representatives of the billeting, education and transport authorities discussed arrangements. Apart from the partial raising of the billeting

<sup>1</sup> *Further Evacuation Scheme*, by James B. Frizell, Education Officer, Edinburgh, March 1940.

allowances and from the conferences of officials, the most important changes from the 1939 scheme were an attempt to make billeting more equitable by inviting householders to enter their names on a roll of those willing to share the task of billeting<sup>1</sup> and the arrangement for a thorough medical inspection.<sup>2</sup>

Although the registration lists were to be closed on 31st March 1940 instructions were issued that school children should be enrolled up to the quota allocated to each school and that thereafter a supplementary list should be compiled. The explanation of the extension was simple; parents refused to register. In Glasgow the parents of 14,506 children indicated that, in a future emergency and when the Government thought fit, they would allow their children to be evacuated under the official arrangements. In other parts of Scotland as in England and Wales a similar poor response was made to the Government's request. 'In many evacuating areas no reply at all was received from the great majority of the parents during the time when the registers were opened.'<sup>3</sup>

The reaction of the householders to the new billeting plans were even more adverse. 22,000 forms were sent out to the landward part of Fife; 300 were returned, 67 of them refusals to have anything to do with the scheme. Angus sent out 10,950 forms; 315 were returned, and 215 agreed to accept evacuees. Perth county figures were, 18,700 issued, 658 returned, 413 acceptances; Perth city, 10,200 issued, 135 returned, 60 acceptances. And so over the length and breadth of the receiving areas.

In spite of these discouraging responses the Department of Health proceeded with the new scheme, hoping probably that if things became really desperate both apathy and antagonism would disappear. Elaborate arrangements were made. Alternative meeting places, routes and entraining points were surveyed; registered children were methodically examined; footwear and attire were inspected; the production of ration books and identity cards was regularly demanded; gas-mask drill was repeatedly performed; shelter exercises in playground and street were rehearsed; and in some schools teachers began to wonder when a little time might be salvaged for the education of registered children. All the clerical arrangements of the 1939 scheme were repeated.

#### Hostels

In May 1940 the Government, having in mind no doubt the strong objections of householders, seriously contemplated the use of hostels as an alternative to household billeting for groups of children.<sup>4</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Dept. of Health for Scot., Memo. E.V.S. 7 (15.2.1940), and Circular 23 (15.2.1940).

<sup>2</sup> Do., Memorandum E.V.S. 5B (22.12.1939).

<sup>3</sup> Ministry of Health Circular 2017 (13.5.1940).

<sup>4</sup> Department of Health for Scotland, Memorandum E.V.S. 7, and Memorandum E.V.S. 8 (May 1940), and Circulars 84 and 98 (1940).

circulars and memoranda on hostels were the most forcible and definite of the documents issued by the Government. They contained detailed suggestions for weekly menus and for the daily time-tables of children living in hostels. In making proposals that evacuated children should be allowed to go on holiday to Scout camps and to other reception areas, that hostels in holiday areas might temporarily take in evacuees from hosts who wished to let their rooms to summer visitors, and that similar arrangements might be made for householders who themselves wished to have a holiday, the documents showed a clear intention to make the lives of the evacuees as nearly normal as might be possible in the circumstances.

By June 1942, 106 hostels with accommodation for over 3,500 evacuated school children were in use. In September 1943 some 2,375 children were billeted in 88 hostels having accommodation for 2,993.

### Evacuation after Raids

Special schemes of evacuation were carried out in Glasgow and the other Clydeside sending areas after the severe air raids in March and May 1941. In no district were there any panic evacuations. In such schemes adults as well as children were transferred to private billets, travelling vouchers and billeting warrants being granted to enable evacuees to take up residence with relatives and friends if they were so disposed. Under emergency conditions the machinery of evacuation worked more smoothly. National and local authorities recognised the necessity for cutting red-tape procedure. Apart from the changed temper of mind the sense of a time limit to any arrangements that might be made caused householders to be more ready to welcome billeted persons and the billeted persons more ready to rough it if necessary. By June 1941 it was evident that evacuation could be carried out efficiently and expeditiously whenever and wherever the need arose.

Before the blitz raids of March and May 1941 the number of evacuated children in Scottish schools was approximately 20,000. In July 1941 the number of people billeted in Scotland was roughly 142,000. Of these, approximately 25,000 were preschool children, 58,000 were school children, and the remainder were mothers and other adult homeless persons. From Glasgow alone nearly 50,000 school children, 25,000 preschool children, 25,000 mothers and young children, and 3,500 members of other priority classes had been evacuated since March 1941. If the 12,000 children already evacuated before March is added, that gives a total of nearly 120,000 evacuated from the city of Glasgow alone.<sup>1</sup> The figures for school children, however, fall into their proper perspective when it is seen that only one quarter of the school population was still evacuated. In Edinburgh from April 1941 to July only

<sup>1</sup> *The Manchester Guardian*, 21.8.1941.

900 school children had been evacuated, and the total number at the end of the latter month was only about 6,000.

No large-scale evacuation was carried out from Scottish sending areas during the year 1942. By December 1941 the number of homeless and evacuated persons billeted outside their home area had fallen to about 81,000. In June 1943, excluding war refugees and children in camps, there were 33,227 evacuated and homeless persons billeted or otherwise accommodated under the evacuation or emergency relief arrangements.

### Children's Overseas Reception Scheme

In May 1940 the overseas Dominions sent many offers to provide homes for children from Great Britain. In spite of the fact that it included representatives of no fewer than twelve Ministries or Departments of State, an Inter-Departmental Committee which had the matter in hand completed its report and drafted its recommendations within a fortnight of its formation.<sup>1</sup> On 19th June the Government announced that the recommendations of the Committee had been accepted.

In broad outline<sup>2</sup> the scheme envisaged by the Inter-Departmental Committee was as follows: the scheme was to be known as 'The Children's Overseas Reception Scheme' and it was to be administered by a small executive Board, the chairman of which was to be a Minister responsible to Parliament. The working of the scheme was entrusted to an Advisory Committee composed of representatives of organisations with experience in migration, education and the care of children. It was proposed that similar central organisations should be set up in the receiving countries to administer the scheme and to secure the welfare of the children. The scheme was restricted at the beginning to school children aged from 5 to 16, not accompanied by their mothers.

The Dominions were anxious to receive children of all classes who would represent a complete cross-section of our child population, and the scheme was open to children from schools of all kinds, whether in evacuation, neutral or reception areas. A system of nomination was to be included in the scheme so that parents might have the opportunity of sending children to the homes of relatives or friends in the Dominions. Applications from parents of children attending grant-aided schools were made through local Education Authorities, and applications on behalf of children attending other schools were made direct to the Secretary of the Reception Board. Parents were required to contribute to the maintenance of their children overseas according to their ability. Parents of children from grant-aided schools were asked to make the same contribution as they would have made if their children had been

<sup>1</sup> Report of Inter-Departmental Committee on the Reception of Children Overseas, Cmd. 6213 (1940), Mr Geoffrey Shakespeare, M.P., Chairman.

<sup>2</sup> *The Times*, 20.6.1940.

evacuated under the evacuation scheme in this country. Children from grant-aided schools received free transport to the Dominions. As soon as possible after the war was over, evacuated children were to be brought back to this country under proper supervision.

#### Numbers to be sent Overseas

Plans were prepared for sending the first batch of 20,000 children from Britain to the shelter of the Dominions. Of these, 10,000 were expected to go to Canada, 5,000 to Australia, and several thousand each to New Zealand and South Africa. In England and Wales 75 per cent. of the children were to come from grant-aided schools and 25 per cent. from other schools. In Scotland 49 out of 50 would come from Education Authority schools and 1 out of 50 from other schools. By 2nd July applications had been received from 40,000 children attending grant-aided schools in England and Wales and about 12,000 attending other schools.<sup>1</sup> In Scotland 26,900 applications were received.

#### Scottish Advisory Council

A Scottish Advisory Council was appointed, the chairman being the Lord Provost of Glasgow, Sir Patrick Dollan. Mr Thomas Henderson, General Secretary of the Educational Institute of Scotland, was appointed by the Government as general adviser on Scottish conditions and acted in liaison between the main Board in London and the Scottish Board in Edinburgh.

#### Numbers sent Overseas

In Scotland the number of children whose parents or guardians had been notified that applications for their evacuation overseas had been approved was 5,662 compared with 18,852 in England and Wales.<sup>2</sup> During the three months ending August 1940 the numbers of British children aged 5 to 15 who left the country under private arrangements for the Dominions and for the United States were 4,579 and 1,617 respectively. The number of children who had arrived safely at their destination in the Dominions under the Overseas Reception Scheme was 2,666. There had been no movement under the scheme to the United States.<sup>3</sup> Of that number 462, or over 17 per cent., were Scottish children, who were sent to Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.

Unfortunately overseas evacuation had to be terminated in October 1940. The news of the torpedoing of a liner on its way to Canada with the loss of 77 out of 90 children who were being evacuated was received with horror by the whole civilised world. The Government reluctantly concluded that during the winter season of gales and heavy seas they could not accept the responsibility for sending any more children overseas.

<sup>1</sup> *The Times*, 3.7.1940. <sup>2</sup> *Scottish Educational Journal*, 20.9.1940. <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.10.1940.

## THE EARLY STAGES OF EVACUATION

ON Friday, 1st September 1939, evacuation began. Before the morning's milk had been received in the homes, before the daily newspaper had arrived, the quiet of towns and cities was disturbed by the hurried patter of feet and the excited voices of children. At street corners strangely garbed figures had taken up position; policemen wearing steel helmets and carrying respirators smilingly waved on parents and youngsters. In some districts trams and buses were in unusual demand, patient conductors and conductresses obligingly helping toddlers and mothers to board already overcrowded vehicles. Private motorists willingly offered lifts to those crowded unsuccessfully around tramcar stopping-places. Special constables were marching past on their way to assist the regular police. All were converging on schools.

Children only half awake because of the overnight excitement were amazed to find that they were not the first-comers, for there at the school gates to welcome them were police constables, and indoors were tired teachers who had been registering late-comers up to the wee sma' hours of the morning.

The results of planning and rehearsals became apparent. Steadily and methodically parents and children made their way to the appointed classrooms or to the defined positions in the playground. A registration department had to be improvised, for up to the last minute in flocked parents who had changed their minds, and decided to be evacuated. Helpers from voluntary societies and Corporation offices arrived, eagerly inquiring where they were to go and what they were to do. By 7 a.m. curious spectators, congregated outside the playground, greeted the panting late-comers with unappreciated witticisms. In classrooms mothers awkwardly fitting themselves into the small desks renewed acquaintance with the place where as children they had learned their lessons. After unavailing efforts to keep the whole family perched on the neighbouring desks, an exasperated mother's admonition of, 'Ah'll sort you!' was followed by the belated commiseration, 'My! Teacher, I dinna ken how you get on wi' forty or fifty weans a' the time!' Whereupon other mothers joined in the conversation, and teacher and parents found a common bond of friendship. Registers were marked, with frequent amendments for late-comers. Identity labels were attached round the necks of evacuees, and the names of owners were placed on an assortment of light luggage. Suitcases, attaché cases, pillowslips, haversacks and parcels of every shape and size had to be securely fastened

and labelled. As time sped, responsibility upon the head master increased. Some children were clearly without a sufficiency of clothing; were they to be allowed to go? Those who resided nearby were sent home in a last effort to obtain additional personal wear. Orders were given, however, that every child present, unless suffering from an infectious disease, was to be evacuated. Worse still, many of the children had been away from school on holiday, and, as a result, had not been medically inspected for weeks or months. Teachers knew what might be the condition of some of the children, but little could be done at such short notice.

At last registers were summarised and the numbers collected. Teachers and helpers took charge of groups assigned to them. According to instructions, the name of the receiving area was announced. Posters intimating the destination were affixed to school notice-boards. The teacher in charge and a policeman took their places at the head of the column at the school gate. The signal for movement was given: the gate was opened. From outside the playground spectators passed on the news of events in far-off Poland. As the evacuees emerged from the school, an appeal from the teacher in charge led to a rush of volunteers to convey the luggage of mothers and children and to carry toddlers to the railway station. Enterprising individuals suddenly produced motor-cars to transfer luggage and infants. Aged persons and mothers with preschool children were taken by bus from the school to the station. As the last of the groups left, the teacher at the rear of the procession waved farewell to the school.

Two abreast the evacuees made their way along the streets. Songs quickened the pace. Wishes of good luck from spectators at windows were answered with ringing cheers. For most of the children evacuation was something in the nature of an adventure. Too young to realise the significance of their departure from home, they marched in buoyant spirits. The only worried people were the mothers and fathers.

At the entraining point parents not accompanying children to the receiving area were, in the interests of order and safety, not admitted to the departure platforms. They took farewell of their families at the barrier, and most of them concealed their emotions as best they could. On the platform each group was marshalled separately and numbers were again checked. Good-humoured railway officials shepherded groups to appropriate stances. Songs from the platform were answered by cheers from the barrier. The only thing missing was a band playing 'Will ye no' come back again?'; but, as events turned out, that was unnecessary. When the train arrived, each group entered its carriage in an orderly manner. A whistle sounded, the train started: the exodus had begun.

With sighs of relief teachers lay back in their seats. That last week

had been a nightmare. Recalled from holiday by a broadcast instruction on Thursday evening, 24th August, they had in the interval been teaching classes and completing official papers.<sup>1</sup> They had interviewed countless parents insatiable for information about the costs to be incurred and about the proposed destinations. It had been awkward for them to confess that they had no idea where the children were to be sent and difficult to explain the implications of the broadcasts that no one was to stay at home merely because of financial difficulties. They had striven as best they could to keep calm amidst the mounting excitement, but even the most phlegmatic was stirred when soon after noon of 31st August visitors had rushed to the schools to tell them that the wireless had announced that evacuation was to commence. The last-minute rush had begun: Jeanie was wanted in order to buy her new shoes; Johnnie simply had to get trousers. The next morning, Friday, 1st September, the first of the schools had moved off. Each evening teachers had had to be on duty, registering newcomers and adjusting arrangements. In everyone's mind was a gnawing doubt: had any contact been made with the teaching staffs of the schools to which they were about to be attached? Even the head master had not been informed to which schools in the receiving area his pupils would be going, and, so far as he was concerned, no educational arrangements had been made. What was to happen to their own houses, rates and rents, insurances and other commitments, teachers knew not. Well; there was no need to worry; the Government had all its plans made, and surely would not let them down. If one could only get a sleep! Some of the teachers who did not reside near the school had on the previous night dozed fitfully on improvised beds. At long last, arrangements for evacuation had been completed. Rest, a long rest, was at hand. So they imagined.

Alas, on the journey it was not possible to relax. Children kept bobbing up and down. At one moment it was cows in a field, at another a colliery invited attention. Woods and rivers were not without interest. Rabbits scurrying to their burrows created a stampede of eager sightseers from one end of the carriage to the other. Then, were there not in the parcels eatables to be devoured? And bottles of lemonade, hitherto cunningly concealed, were proudly brought forth. To crown all discoveries some youthful Columbus, roaming to the end of the corridor, found a lavatory. A queue was rapidly formed, but teacher, with seeming intuition, discovered another and promptly reserved it for girls. True, it seemed a bit high-handed for teacher to prohibit the use of water from the hand basin for drinking purposes, yet she was a sport for she arranged with the station master at one halt for word to be sent on ahead for pails of water to be at hand at the next

<sup>1</sup> *The Scotsman*, 25.8.1939 and 26.8.1939; *The Scottish Educational Journal*, 1.9.1939.

stopping-place. 'And oh boy, didn't I nearly fall out of the window when I tried to fill my tinnie, and wasn't the porter carnaptious!'

Yet the journey began to lose interest; paper comics, ceasing to appeal, were thrown aside. Grimy and tired, the children became fractious. Babies began to fret, and mothers began to worry. What would daddy do now? When would they see granny again? Sharp words were spoken; tempers became frayed. The young ladies from the Corporation offices, who were travelling as helpers, came gallantly to the rescue, taking charge of wailing babies and dandling them into good humour. Teacher started community singing, and best of all, announced that the destination was near at hand and possibly tea would be awaiting them. At last, as the train slowed down, all crowded to the windows to see what the place was like. Fields, fields everywhere; a few cottages; then streets and shops. 'Miss, please Miss, are there any sweetie shops?' 'Aw, I dinny see ony picture houses.' 'My, it's jist a wee toon!'

The train stopped. Carriage doors were opened, and after stepping out on to the platform exhausted mothers and wearied children dutifully fell into their respective groups to await instructions. All who travelled on the Friday were tired. The rush had been too great. Rain was falling and rolls of thunder heard on the journey caused alarm, being mistaken for gunfire. On the Saturday people were perturbed by the imminence of war. On the Sunday, even on trains conveying evacuees, news spread that war had been declared.

In the receiving areas willing helpers had been as busily engaged as those in the sending areas. Billeting officers had been hurriedly revising lists of available accommodation. Cars had been assembled for transport. Local doctors had been enrolled for medical inspection; at the cottage hospital maids had scrubbed and polished to make everything spick and span; at the station nurses and members of the St Andrew's Ambulance Association and Red Cross Voluntary Aid Detachments were ready to render assistance if required. Strenuous hands had been dismantling boxes of emergency rations, while others had been industriously filling carrier bags with tins of corned beef and milk, and packets of chocolate to be ready for distribution. The Women's Voluntary Services had been collecting bedding and crockery and serving them out to householders to augment their supplies. Farm workers were perspiring as they made up palliasses. Active helpers were making halls ready for the visitors, collecting food and preparing tea to be served on the arrival of the evacuees. Householders were shifting furniture, making up beds, and all the time wondering how their new families would behave. Special constables, donning their official armlets, patrolled the streets, swopping yarns about the last war and discussing the new rules about the black-out. Boy Scouts were bustling about on the railway platform

ready to convey the light luggage, and Girl Guides were eagerly waiting to carry the evacuated babies. At the station gates boys and girls had assembled to catch the first glimpse of their new schoolmates.

The reception officer gave the order, and groups, either on foot or in buses, made their way to the various temporary reception centres. Warm-hearted folks gave a word of cheer to woebegone evacuees as they wistfully scanned their new surroundings. A cup of tea worked wonders. The contents of the carrier bags were surreptitiously inspected shortly after they had been distributed, and juvenile hands and faces soon showed that the supply of chocolate had been quickly exhausted. In some districts medical inspection was undertaken, but in all areas the work of registering the evacuees and of allocating them to billets was under way in a short time. The hands of local teachers were developing writer's cramp before the clerical work was completed. Fortunately, in almost every reception area, the number of evacuated persons was less than had been notified. Unexpected difficulties arose when members of the same family refused to be separated, and when it was discovered that some mothers had arrived with families larger than an ordinary house could accommodate. Nightfall was imminent and there was no time for careful sorting out of evacuees. At some arrival centres no arrangements had been made for billeting teachers who had accompanied the children and who were to remain in the receiving area to do educational work. There in the gloaming they sat on uncomfortable school desks wondering what might be the outcome of the whispered consultations going on around the tables of the perturbed billeting staff. Mothers and their families had been accommodated, unaccompanied children had been escorted to their new homes, but teachers, well, what was to be done with them? Temporary arrangements were hurriedly made. When the last evacuee had gone billeting officers and their assistants breathed sighs of relief. The momentous day had come and gone. There were no doubt plenty of problems lying ahead. And they could be dealt with when they arose.

On Sunday, 3rd September 1939, Mr Walter Elliot, Minister of Health, in a broadcast<sup>1</sup> surveyed the work of evacuation, expressed thanks to helpers, parents and children, and gave friendly advice for settling down in the reception areas.

'The first bit of the task is over,' he said. 'The move has been made. That was the work of the organisation. Now we have to tackle the second half—that is the adjustment and settling in. That is infinitely important, and can be done by no organisation. It has to be done by the people themselves, and only the good will and imagination of the newcomers can really make it succeed.'

<sup>1</sup> Reported in *Scottish Educational Journal*, 8.9.1939.

He thanked the parents for their coolness and foresight, the children for their steadiness, their trust and their cheerfulness, and the teachers 'who have been repaid, I like to think, in this one week-end with a deep and scarcely hoped-for tribute of confidence and affection for their years of devotion.' He also paid tribute to the reception areas—the local authorities who planned the survey and reception arrangements, the voluntary helpers, including volunteers in the Women's Voluntary Services, and the householders, 'without whose good will this movement could never even have begun, much less have been completed.'

'Now we have to look for the points of friction and clear them up as far as possible,' said Mr Elliot. 'To the children I would say, "Be brave, be kind to each other, give your obedience readily to those in whose charge you are, and show that you are responsible persons by proving yourselves fit to be trusted with the use of other people's homes and other people's possessions."

'To the grown-ups I would say, "It is a great change for you to have changed your surroundings, but do not forget that by your very coming you have made a change as great if not greater in the surroundings of those with whom you now are." Did I not say three days ago that we would show the world what could be done by a free people which put its back into its work and its heart into its job. And haven't we done it?'

Thus far the story of the great migration as told in broad outline by an eyewitness who had many contacts with the various parties concerned. Now comes a detailed supplement of a more critical character, based on the replies made to a questionnaire by a number of trained observers who either took part in the evacuation proceedings themselves or made careful personal inquiries on the spot. This account of the early stages of evacuation begins with the preliminary preparations, tells the story of Evacuation Day from a different angle, and goes on to an analysis of the many problems which presented themselves in the first hectic months.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The eyewitness's story was written by Mr A. J. Belford. The rest of the article is based on returns made in response to the questionnaire which is appended. This questionnaire was prepared by Dr William Boyd in consultation with Mr A. D. K. Owen and Dr W. B. Inglis. 300 copies were sent out to Education graduates and other advanced students who had studied at one time or another in the Education Department of Glasgow University. Replies were received from nearly half of them. Deducting those who were not in a position to give information and those whose notes covered ground better covered in other reports and adding 7 or 8 reports from teachers and others invited to contribute, there were available as a basis for a study of the facts of early evacuation just over 100 separate reports. These varied from accounts of the happenings in a single district or town to comprehensive surveys of a large area of several districts, and were accompanied in some cases by most valuable supplementary material

## THE SURVEY

As early as February 1939 preparations began to be made for evacuation. Enumerators of various classes, such as local authority officials and school teachers, made their tedious way round the houses of the various towns, villages, hamlets and isolated dwellings in the reception areas. Their task seemed simple enough: merely to estimate on a prearranged basis the surplus accommodation in the houses visited, with a view to using the rooms available for children and adults who would be evacuated from the vulnerable districts if war came.

The system in general was a simple matter of arithmetic. The method was to obtain the number of rooms in the house (sometimes even counting the kitchen as a room), and then allow one adult to each room. For the purpose of the survey a child counted as half an adult. Once the number of rooms was obtained the numbers of adults and children in the house were added up, and the total subtracted from the total number of rooms. This gave the accommodation available for evacuees on the basis of one adult or two children to each room.

There were difficulties even in this simple system. It is obvious, for example, that where the opposite sexes were involved some children for all practical purposes counted as adults. Some of the census-takers, interpreting the rule too literally, alienated householders by suggesting that they would have to take quite fantastic numbers. One householder in Dumfriesshire with a family of two, having a house of nine rooms, for example, was told he would have to take 28 children. Another householder with a large mansion house in Renfrewshire was told that he would have to take 50 children. In some cases the work involved in the survey was too much for those on whom it fell, and the survey was made in a rather perfunctory fashion. One teacher correspondent who had taken part in the first inquiries makes confession of this on

(local official reports, newspaper cuttings from the local press, essays written both by evacuee children and by the children of the schools attended by the evacuees). For some of the reporters the collection of first-hand information had evidently been a labour of love, and in practically every case there was evidence of special care in the sifting and assembling of facts. Scottish graduates in education, it need scarcely be said, are a group uniquely qualified to do work of this kind both by training and ability, and many of them had the further qualification that they had direct contacts with evacuation experiences either as teachers sent from the evacuation areas or as teachers and administrative officers in the receiving areas. In many cases they were describing from the inside, and in all cases with deep personal interest. The varied material was put into the hands of Mr John R. Third, who, as a teacher in Clydebank High School and an active member of a committee which gave an extensive service to the parents of the evacuees from Clydebank and to their hostesses for the first eighteen months of the war, had an intimate acquaintance with all sides of the evacuation situation. Mr Third analysed the replies and wrote the first draft of the present memorandum, which was subsequently extended and put into its final form by the editor.

behalf of himself and his fellow teachers: 'The census in his district,' he reports, 'was carried through by teachers, and it can be said of teachers as a body that they are conscientious. But the original faults in the scheme itself caused difficulties which the teacher found insurmountable. The houses were all visited, but much of the work was badly done.' Some of the inquirers were content with getting the forms completed perfunctorily. Others went out of their way to get as much accommodation as possible. Some householders who would have been perfectly willing to take 1 or 2 children were told that they had room for perhaps 5 or 6, and that this number would be billeted on them unless they had some good reason for not taking them. The result was immediate antagonism. There were extenuating circumstances in the case of some of the teachers who filled up the forms hastily or mechanically. The physical exertion entailed in visiting 50 houses widely separated was quite sufficient to make those of middle age or over glad to be finished with the job. It was often necessary to travel considerable distances to get details from one particular house, although someone else was surveying every other house in the same district.

In justice, it must be added that there are no other complaints on this score, and only one other correspondent is critical of the way in which the survey was carried out, writing that the compilers (teachers also) were more 'officious than official.' In the towns, as far as can be gathered from the reports, it seems in the main to have been well organised and managed.

The chief criticism to be levelled against the census is that in estimating the maximum accommodation the compilers in many cases were indulging in a rather facile optimism regarding the capacity of houses and householders. Yet the responsibility does not appear to be theirs but that of the sponsors of the scheme, the Government officials who had issued the instructions. There was failure on their part to envisage the effect on ordinary people of having every scrap of spare accommodation filled by strangers for an indefinite period.

### THE RESPONSE

The first response of the householders, despite occasional grumbling, was excellent. From 70 returns examined the evidence of good will is unmistakable. These come from all over Scotland, from Aberdeen, Fife, Lanark, West Lothian, Dunbartonshire, Stirlingshire, Renfrewshire, Argyllshire, Dumfries, Ayrshire, Wigtownshire, Kirkcudbright and other parts of the country. They were compiled by reliable people on the spot, able to judge conditions and sentiment in their locality, and they are practically unanimous. The usual description of the

householders' attitude is 'excellent,' 'most willing,' 'generous'; the worst term used is 'fairly good' in the case of one country parish, and even here it is stated that the response of the working classes was good. One cautious correspondent describes the householders in his parish as 'not unwilling,' but adds that they were ready to do their duty. In one of the most populous towns used as a reception area it is officially stated that 64 per cent. of the householders agreed to take evacuees. Here again is a quotation from a writer in an Ayrshire coast town: 'As assistant billeting officer I interviewed 80 householders, and in only 2 cases was there any attempt to evade responsibility.'

From a Renfrewshire town comes the following illuminating comment: 'I visited about 30 houses in one particular district to gain information about the number of rooms, accommodation available for evacuees, the willingness of householders to receive children, etc. This initial visit took place in February 1939, at a time when it was still felt that war could not really come. Personally I felt that much of the accommodation was offered with this thought in mind. I also perceived that the householder was under the impression that *he or she could be compelled to accept evacuees.* With these two thoughts at the back of the mind, the response was excellent. Most people who had accommodation were willing to receive evacuees. Three householders were willing to evacuate their houses entirely.'

This raises two questions. Firstly, how widespread was the belief that war would not come; and secondly, did the householders think that the scheme was compulsory? With regard to the first, it is difficult to say. It is noteworthy that only in one other report, from a Lanarkshire town, was this idea expressed, in the modified form that householders believed that 'evacuation would never take place.' A correspondent from a village which later organised its evacuation services admirably makes the significant remark that 'response was good, as householders did not know what they were liable for.'

With regard to the matter of compulsion, out of 100 reports 8 mention that no appeal was made, but simply that a census was taken. In one Perthshire village, the writer states, those who refused evacuee children were warned that their houses would be used for 'others.' This method may have been followed in other districts, but there is no indication of it in the reports other than a statement that in one town 'mothers and preschool children were distributed among people who were not willing to receive children.' Probably a considerable proportion of the people in all areas looked on the scheme as compulsory. The truth was, of course, that the scheme was to a large extent compulsory only if the householder would allow himself to be compelled, and it is obvious enough that the degree of compulsion varied very considerably, but that pressure had to be applied to only a small minority of house-

holders. The Department of Health has been criticised frequently for its non-committal attitude in this matter, but perhaps there was justification for it in the fact that there was enough compulsion to force the hand of most of the reluctant, and enough freedom to please the willing volunteers. The lack of firmness, however, had repercussions at a later time when householders wished to rid themselves of their encumbrances.

#### PREFERENCES

In almost every case householders, asked to state their preference, expressed the wish for 'unaccompanied children.' In two of the returns it is said that a small number wanted 'mothers and children' on the sensible ground that the mothers would be able to look after the children themselves. One northern county 'did not expect mothers,' and seemingly did not want them. As can be readily understood, there was little willing provision of accommodation for expectant mothers anywhere. Teachers and helpers, again, for the most part were neither wanted nor unwanted, but just forgotten; but a few older people who were unable to entertain children showed their good will by offering to take teachers and helpers.

It is perhaps worth adding that in 5 or 6 reports it is stated that farmers wished to have healthy boys about 14 years of age, likely to be of help in the farm work.

#### RESPONSE OF VARIOUS CLASSES

The response of the various social classes to the appeal seems to have been much the same. In 46 reports it is stated that the response of all classes was good; in 11, that the response of the working class was much better than that of the middle and upper classes; in 5, that the wealthy class was most willing, and in 5, that the middle class was most responsive.

The reasons suggested in some reports for the more ready hospitality of the working class are that as a rule they did not object so much to their privacy being invaded, and that they were more anxious to obtain the billeting allowances. From a mining district comes the remark, made by more than one working-class woman, 'An odd one extra won't make much difference.' That was a sentiment more common among people with large families than with small.

From two places only was there any allegation of a general evasion of responsibility on the part of better-to-do people. From one of these places it is stated that the wealthy 'desired no refugees.' Happily this attitude was rare.

## REFUSALS AND OBJECTIONS

Forty-eight of the replies to the questionnaire gave particulars regarding objections made by householders to accepting children at the time of the survey.

## Householders' objections to having children billeted on them

Reason	Percentage of Reports in which Objection appeared
Age of householder . . . . .	39
Illness or infirmity . . . . .	33
Domestic difficulties . . . . .	27
Insufficient accommodation, etc. . . . .	26
Misgivings about children . . . . .	17
Billets reserved for friends or for private evacuees . . . . .	16
Miscellaneous . . . . .	8

While in the nature of the case it is difficult to get exact figures, or to distinguish between genuine objections and objections made to cover up unwillingness to receive evacuees, two points emerge from the reports: the first, that the proportion of objectors at the time of the survey was very small; the second, that in the judgment of several competent observers most of the objections were *bona fide* in character. (One writer does throw doubt on some cases of 'illness' in his district, and suggests that medical certificates were easily obtained.)

'Age of householder' and 'illness or infirmity,' it will be seen, were the most common grounds of objection, as they continued to be at all stages in evacuation. 'Domestic difficulties' were diverse in character. In nearly half the reports it was said that householders were 'too busy,' some of them being out working all day. In some cases the householders were bachelors or widowers, in other cases there was lack of domestic help. Some few were apprehensive of upset routine or loss of privacy and freedom. 'Insufficient accommodation' was a common plea, met mainly in working-class districts where there were large families. On the other hand, several observers found that for the most part working-class people took additional children willingly. There is occasional comment on the lack of cooking facilities and sanitary conveniences. Objections on the ground that the available accommodation was unsuitable seem to have come mainly from middle-class or professional people. One writer mentions that in his district it was ministers chiefly who objected to having their domestic routine upset, their objection being akin to that of a Roman Catholic priest who thought his house was unsuitable because of his professional duties.

The informant adds that subsequent events proved that he was justified in his attitude.

'Misgivings about children' figure less than might have been expected. Five reports mention householders who pleaded that they had no experience of children. It is interesting to note, however, in view of the later outcry, that very few people seem to have anticipated the coming of dirty, destructive or unmanageable children. Only once was concern about possible damage to property mentioned, and only in 3 cases concern about dirty children.

In regard to the reservation of billets for friends it is stated that in 2 districts the names and addresses of the expected guests were taken, but nothing is said about what was done later, probably because nothing was done.

The miscellaneous objections were in the main political. 'About half-a-dozen' people somewhere in Aberdeenshire were opposed to the whole principle of evacuation. 'One gentleman refused on the ground that if the Government had the children safely bestowed in this way they might be encouraged to engage in a war,' and one pacifist discovered that it was against his principles to take children. Another objector was so strongly opposed to Mr Chamberlain and all his works that he could have no part in any scheme sponsored by him. In one or two cases doubts were raised about the financial burden that might be imposed.

#### EVASION

Out of 52 reports which mention evasion 45 agree in stating that few cases had come within their notice; 7 mention that in their districts there was a fair number, but even so that the total number represented but a small fraction of the community. Here are typical comments out of many from all over Scotland: 'frivolous objections rare'; 'only two or three repudiated all responsibility. After revisit one only still refused'; 'half per cent.'; 'only a few'; 'a small number' (three cases quoted). As against this, reports from 7 districts indicate a considerable amount of evasion. Here are typical extracts:

1. An Ayrshire seaside town. '(Lady canvassers) submitted to me a list of householders who had declined to take expectant mothers, but stated that they were willing to receive children. When the next batch of children came I tried many of the addresses given, and was told that they were not willing to accept such children. This was the largest-scale evasion that came to my notice, and I would say that nearly two or three score householders were involved.'
2. Arran. 'Many of the objectors seemed to be evading responsibility without proper cause. Higher-class houses got rid of the

- evacuees to poorer houses who willingly took them as they were getting a let at a time of the year they didn't expect.'
3. A Dunbartonshire village. 'A few objectors seemed to be evading responsibility without proper cause. These had ample accommodation.'
  4. Fife. 'A number were definitely evading responsibility. Three of them claimed that friends were coming from other parts. This proved to be untrue.'
  5. 'A widower with ample accommodation made no secret from the start that he intended to take none, as his housekeeper would go if he took any in.' (It is noteworthy that this householder was a member of a committee for adjusting billets and considering objections.)
  6. Lanarkshire. 'Evasions sometimes occurred; for example, a few stated that they were going on holiday. One man locked his door, drew down his blinds and refused to be drawn outside.'
  7. Perthshire. 'The objectors just did not want evacuees, and many of those who consented did not want them either.'

On the whole it is not so surprising that some evasion took place as that there was so little. There can be no doubt that the response of the householders in the first days was overwhelmingly satisfactory. There were some backsliders when it came to the placing of the children, but it is significant that only 2 writers think it worth while to note that a number of householders who had promised accommodation refused to take in evacuees when evacuation came. There were other isolated cases, but over all this number was small.

#### PREPARATIONS FOR RECEPTION

The preparations for reception of evacuees does not appear to have varied much in the different districts. In general it may be said that private householders were hospitable and tried to make their guests comfortable. There are reports of beds, bedding, furniture, and even toys, being bought, and many laid in extra supplies of food. In other cases rooms were rearranged to provide sleeping accommodation, and in a fair number of cases householders vacated their usual sleeping quarters to allow room for children. One gentleman, to quote but a single sample out of many, cleared out his drawing-room to make a dormitory for 40 children. (The 3 or 4 mothers with large families who were put into it left in twenty-four hours.)

There were exceptions, of course. There are reports of rooms being stripped bare, and straw being provided for the new arrivals, but cases like these represent an inconsiderable fraction of the whole. Allegations of this nature come only from 3 districts. In most places bedding and

beds if required were supplied by the authorities, but in nearly every district instances are quoted of people preferring to buy the necessary articles and pay for them themselves. Again and again correspondents record how beds and bedding were purchased, rooms rearranged and converted into bedrooms, food bought in, and fires made ready against the coming of the evacuees. The comment is made regarding a holiday resort in Ayrshire that the landladies prepared their rooms as they would do for their summer visitors. The same comment indeed is made of several other resorts. There are two accounts of householders preparing studies for the children who were expected. In short, the vast majority of householders proved anxious to be hospitable and to do in a generous spirit what they conceived to be their duty.

The preliminary arrangements by the community may be divided into those made by the local authorities and those made by private citizens and voluntary bodies. Usually a reception committee was set up, blankets and bedding were procured, and the rations allowed by the Government were collected. Halls were requisitioned or hired, often without charge, and efforts were made to obtain motor transport. The response to the demand for cars was exceedingly generous. No fewer than 46 reports mention that there were sufficient cars or even more. 'There were hundreds of cars,' says one. Quite a number of the others do not mention transport but tacitly suggest that arrangements were adequate. For example, in one small town in the south of Scotland the billeting officers had over 90 private cars at their disposal.

The W.R.I. and W.V.S. were generous with their services, and in many districts made provision for a hot meal of some kind for the evacuees, 51 districts providing food of some sort for the children and their accompanying adults on their arrival. The commonest meal consisted of tea and sandwiches, but some communities made various tasty additions to the rations issued. Other communities provided nothing at all, in some cases because the evacuees could be quickly dispersed, in others simply because no one seemed to think it necessary.

It is surprising to find little reference to the medical inspection of the children. Many reports do not mention the matter, even though in some cases there is reason to believe that the school medical officers did their work adequately, especially in towns that received their quota of evacuees on the third day of evacuation. From one Clydeside town there comes the information that the reception committee envisaged many of the difficulties that would arise, and made specific representations to the authorities, but little was done because the authorities would not sanction the necessary expenditure in advance of actual evacuation.

Some places, like Garelochhead, did prepare isolation hospitals, and made provision for medical inspection. Kilsyth had at hand no less

than two doctors, fifteen nurses and three women qualified in first aid, while Langholm had a large contingent of V.A.D.s. Uplawmoor made private arrangements for a local doctor to inspect the children on arrival. Dalbeattie had a representative from the Red Cross, and Coupar Angus, two nurses. These are the specific cases mentioned; but there were others where some medical inspection was enforced. It is impossible to give an estimate of the numbers, though it was probably fairly general.

There seems to have been little provision for the future welfare of the evacuees. There are few mentions of any committees being ready beforehand, but one town had set up a Welfare Committee under the ægis of the local School Management Committee, another a W.V.S. play centre. In still another, the W.V.S. and other ladies organised a rest hut, a canteen, a crèche, a clothing depot and a clinic.

Very few districts envisaged the necessity for halls to billet those who could not be bestowed privately, or of providing play centres and places of meeting for children and parents.

Such preparations as were made by the authorities in respect of equipment seem to have been quite adequate, but there were one or two places where the mattresses and bedding and other equipment promised did not arrive till the night of evacuation itself. Apart from granting the use of halls for various purposes the churches seem to have taken little direct interest in the first stages of evacuation, but in many places ministers played a considerable part in the work of organisation. In one town an invitation was issued to evacuee children to attend Sunday school, and in another to the boys to join the Lifeboys. No doubt similar invitations were issued in other districts, though judging by the reports it would seem that in the first days the churches did not foresee the opportunity for special service and the necessity for strenuous action on their part.

The worst feature is that the authorities, both national and local, had given little thought to the welfare of the evacuees once they had been billeted. The matter of expenditure always loomed large before them and paralysed initiative. Many ideas, later recognised as necessary, were turned down to begin with on grounds of cost. The evacuees were dumped down on private householders. That done, the Government and most local authorities seemed to think that their main task was over. Most of what was done to help the evacuees to settle down was accomplished by the enterprise of private citizens.

#### NUMBERS EXPECTED AND ARRIVING

It had been hoped to compile comparative tables for the different classes of evacuees expected and for the actual numbers arriving in the districts surveyed, but the figures in the returns were usually given only

in round numbers and did not contain sufficient information for the purpose. Hence totals only can be given, and these are limited to the districts from which specific figures have come:

Number of evacuees expected . . . . .	54,068
Number of evacuees arriving . . . . .	26,231

This means that only 48·5 per cent. of the places available and ready were needed on the day of evacuation. In point of fact most reception areas were asked to accommodate less than half the children provided for. The inevitable consequence was a general dislocation of local plans, and confusion was worse confounded by the hush-hush policy that prevented the reception areas getting any information regarding their guests beforehand. To make things worse the last-minute information provided was often misleading because of the vagaries of evacuation day arrangements. From the West Highlands, for example, comes the report that detailed information was given before the arrival of the evacuees, but that it was 'all wrong.' Quite a number of the receiving districts learned shortly before the arrival of the evacuees the names of the schools that were allocated to them. From the south of Scotland comes the report that detailed information was not received till the day of evacuation itself. In one Fife town the reception officials received word to expect 144 evacuees, and later in the day were told to expect 44 only. In other cases the only information was the total number to be expected, without any indication of the classes of evacuees.

'The total number of evacuees to arrive at this town was 541. Included in this number were the evacuees who should have detrained at the station before ours. This was due to lack of co-operation between the sending and receiving areas. Definite and correct information was not received as to the number of each group of evacuees. No information was given about age, sex, religion or social class of evacuees.'

Some of the confusion which characterised evacuation arrangements on the critical days might have been avoided if the officials concerned had been in closer touch with those who had to carry them through. From both sending and receiving areas come complaints on this score, in the one case regarding the maintenance of a quite unnecessary secrecy as to the destination of the children, in the other regarding the failure to make proper use of local knowledge and experience. Whatever the cause, there was certainly inadequate co-operation in a situation where co-operation was essential. The officials in some of the sending areas, probably overwhelmed with work, made their plans without consulting their opposite number in the receiving areas and sometimes in entire disregard of their wishes and their warning. One town, for example,

having learned *sub rosa* that it was intended to send the children from two large Catholic schools, pointed out the difficulties likely to arise in a community only 20 per cent. Catholic, and asked for a mixed company of evacuees: but no heed was paid to its views. In a country district, again a local official having learned in the usual roundabout way about the train arrangements, made suggestions for a change which would have greatly simplified the distribution of the children. Not only were his suggestions ignored but in the working out of the original scheme under distant control some places received too many evacuees for their size and other places received none.

One extraordinary omission, according to several correspondents, was of any notification that mothers were to come with the children. Very frequently in the returns the remark is made: 'School children only expected,' or 'No mothers expected.' When the actual hordes of mothers arrived, the plans, sketchy enough in many places, broke down and the situation was only saved by natural compassion and the unremitting toil of all sorts of people, official and other.

The only way in which 'social' information about the evacuees could be inferred was through knowledge of the schools from which the children were arriving. This was known in almost all cases a day or two beforehand, and provided anyone in the district was acquainted with the locality of the schools concerned a rough guess could be made as to the children's probable status.

To sum up, there is not one return that mentions the receipt of useful information about the age, sex, religion or social status of the children, or the character of the accompanying adults, despite the fact that the school teachers in the sending areas would gladly have supplied much valuable information of the kind.

#### PRIVATE EVACUEES

There is little accurate information in the returns about private evacuees. They were in fairly considerable numbers in some districts, and, with the exception of a few in hired lodgings, were billeted with friends and relatives. It is difficult to assess their numbers in the early stages of evacuation. Quite a number of seaside and country towns are credited by our reporters as having 150 to 200 private evacuees, the highest figure being 400 for an Ayrshire resort. In the few districts for which exact figures are available the percentage of private evacuees out of the total number of evacuees ranges from 10 to 25. In spite of the fact that they were the most stable group of evacuees and caused no trouble to anybody there seems to have been a tendency in official quarters to frown on them, and in some cases when the time came for the local schools to be opened for the evacuee the unoffending private

evacuees were the last to be accepted. In one instance they were denied admission for several weeks. For the most part they were of a rather higher social status than the bulk of the Government evacuees, and there was generally less friction between them and their hosts. As a rule they stayed somewhat longer than the others in the receiving areas.

### THE DAY OF EVACUATION

On the actual day of evacuation the children, parents, teachers and helpers made an early start. In all but a few schools the evacuees were assembled at 7 a.m. or 8 a.m. Registers had to be prepared, labels written and affixed, and time allowed for the march to the station. In some instances there was no real need for such an early start. One correspondent says: 'Our party had been told to assemble for 8 a.m. though our head master knew our party was going in the second train. A great many of my clients were mothers with infants and there was no chance of their getting milk for their infants until they reached their destination at 8.30 p.m. The mothers and infants for the last seven or eight hours of the journey made no secret of the fact that they were in great distress, and the effect on the rest of the party can be more easily imagined than described. Only a camel could go from 7 a.m. till 9 p.m. with nothing to drink and come up smiling at the finish.'

The actual journeys varied considerably in hardship. Out of 68 questionnaires giving details of the journey 27 complain of the time taken; several adding that the difficulty was increased by a long and apparently unnecessary wait before the actual entraining. In 22 cases the evacuees did not arrive at their destinations until 5 p.m. or later, and one Aberdeenshire village did not receive its quota till 12.30 a.m. the following morning. When the almost universal early start is remembered these times can be seen in their proper perspective. No wonder many of the evacuees were in a deplorable condition of uncleanliness and emotional upset when they arrived.

The railway companies were not guiltless of adding to the discomfort of the journey. It is understandable that special trains should often be late, but they should at least have assured the evacuees reasonable sanitary conveniences on the trip. Quotation will illustrate here, better than anything else.

1. Aberdeenshire. 'The evacuees arrived at 12.30 a.m. on Sunday after a long tiring journey from Glasgow. There had been no water on the train during the latter part of the journey, and all the children were superficially dirty.'
2. Aberdeenshire. 'The journey from Glasgow was the most depressing, deplorable and disgusting journey I have ever had the misfortune to make. The train took 12½ hours to reach

Aberdeen. Half-hours and hours were spent in railway sidings until the line was clear. The journey was a positive nightmare, increased by the darkness of the train (lit by blue lights) and the wretched rainstorm which greeted our arrival at our station. The evacuees were famished when they arrived, having had no food for a matter of 12 hours. (Most of their food had been eaten before leaving Glasgow.) The babies-in-arms kept howling for milk which was unobtainable at any station. Mothers began to grow hysterical, two in particular crying like children. Many children became trainsick. There was a lack of water on the train. The cramped enclosure of a corridor train helped to make this a journey never to be forgotten. On arrival at midnight the evacuees, teachers and helpers were so exhausted and depressed that the term 'refugees' applied to them by some of the householders seemed more appropriate than offensive.'

3. Wigtownshire. 'Left Glasgow at 11 a.m., arrived about 3 p.m. The journey was not particularly comfortable as there were no corridor carriages on that train. And that a train on a long journey and containing preschool children and mothers.'
4. Ayrshire. 'We could have taken 165 persons from the train at our station, but unfortunately all the luggage was together in the guard's van. We sent them further along the line and later 195 were brought back with the returning train.'
5. Renfrewshire. 'Arrived Sunday 5 p.m.—billeting people found this really too late to accomplish efficiently the allocation of evacuees, medical inspection and transport to billets.'
6. Ayrshire. 'They arrived many hours late. For a railway journey which normally takes one hour six to seven hours were required. It appears that there was much delay in attempting to group the children on the departure platform. Further delay followed at an intermediate station where they had to be grouped again for despatch to the three districts. For some unexplained reason many had no food during these hours.'
7. 'Our party of 8 mentally defective boys and 7 teachers arrived at 5 p.m. on Sunday (the third day of evacuation), the party having gathered at 8 a.m. No meal was provided on the road apart from the emergency rations.'
8. Perthshire. 'Buses arrived empty from Glasgow to take children from the station to outlying districts. Owing to the smaller number arriving, and the overplus of local cars, they were not required and duly returned to Glasgow.'

The obvious explanation for so much muddle is that no one in official position had visualised the actual conditions of the journey. Children

were assembled in school hours before the time of departure because some person in an Education Office had so decreed. And surely the railway companies, if lacking imagination, ought to have known the need for trains with proper conveniences for long journeys. Even at the beginning of a war things might surely have been better managed.

### THE ARRIVAL

It is hardly to be wondered at that many of the evacuees arrived in a dirty, depressed and apprehensive state. Yet, with the exception of the children and parents who endured the longest and most uncomfortable journeys, most of the children were bright and cheerful. 'Excited but cheerful' sums up the comments of most correspondents. The children plainly looked on the business as a great adventure.

It is of interest to note that, as a rule, the parents of the children were more anxious than the young people about what was to happen to them, but even among them there were happy exceptions. One mother alone in a party that had experienced a most trying journey stepped out of the compartment beaming upon all. It was eventually discovered that her satisfaction arose from a belief that she was to be paid by the Government for consenting to be evacuated.

About 60 per cent. of the correspondents report that the children were cheerful, about 25 per cent. that they were somewhat depressed, the rest that they were either indifferent or tired. Two comment on an attitude of hostility on the part of a few of them.

If the journeys in some cases had not been so long—and it is to be remembered that for some the day had begun as early as 5 or 6 a.m.—the proportion of cheerful children would have been much higher. Most of them started off cheering. It is worthy of note that few or none of the children showed any signs of fear.

### CLOTHING

The wearing apparel of the children varied considerably in accordance with the financial conditions and customs of the districts from which they came. The comments of the observers on the groups which came under their notice may be graded as follows:

Very good, good, adequate . . . . .	42 per cent.
Mixed good and bad . . . . .	19 ,,
Bad or deplorable . . . . .	39 ,,

The point that leaps to the eye here is the large proportion (roughly 4 children in every 10) whose clothing was considered unsatisfactory by our correspondents, on an occasion when the dress would be rather

better than usual. It is disquieting to think that such a large proportion of a representative sample of Scottish town children should be found lacking in necessary articles, but perhaps one ought not to jump to conclusions. It is worth remembering that many of the children looked dirty and untidy after a trying journey, that they frequently arrived in heavy rain and inevitably appeared bedraggled, and that in any case it is difficult to assess the standard applied by the observer in his judgment on such matters. A curious sidelight is thrown on the mentality of some parents by the suggestion made by one or two correspondents that some of the children—a small number out of the total—were sent away as poorly dressed as possible in the hope that their appearance would arouse sympathy. One writer accuses one or two women in the party he accompanied of having left behind clothing they had obtained from the public authorities, in the hope and expectation of obtaining more in the reception area.

A frequent complaint from country areas is that the children arrived with clothing which was entirely unsuitable for a prolonged stay in the country, some of the children, for example, having no footwear except sandshoes. The conclusion drawn by some of the hostesses was that a large number of the townspeople did not know how to clothe their children. They overlooked the fact that many of the mothers were entirely unfamiliar with country conditions and needs.

#### ARRANGEMENTS FOR WELFARE WHILE AWAITING BILLETING

The arrangements for meeting evacuees and for collecting them together whilst billeting was proceeding do not appear to have varied very much. In most instances the train was met by buses or private cars, and the evacuees were conveyed to a hall or school. There they were usually inspected by a doctor or a nurse, who segregated a few obviously dirty and unfit children, while at the same time a hot drink, sandwiches—even a hot meal—or at worst only the regulation emergency ration, was served out. One case is reported of the rations arriving after the evacuees, but on the whole the feeding of the children on arrival was well managed.

The trouble arose when the billeting began. There was not infrequently much delay and confusion, and many of the mothers and children were utterly worn out before the allocation was completed. Two instances are reported of evacuees having to wait outside in a school playground for several hours while their fates were being decided. One discreditable tale of sectarian prejudice is alleged in a northern town, in which the inhabitants refused the use of the high school as a centre when they heard that they were to harbour Roman Catholic children.

### BILLETING OFFICIALS

The invidious task of allotting the evacuees to the various houses devolved upon quite a variety of people. Here is a representative list of those charged with this task: ministers, lawyers, bankers, teachers, county and burgh officials, county and district councillors, retired business men, gentlemen of leisure, postmen, members of the W.V.S., W.R.I., etc.

In the country districts a large part of the burden fell on the teachers and the ministers. Here, for example, is a list of the billeting officers in a group of 8 neighbouring parishes in the south of Scotland:

school master, aided by the minister and a lady;  
school master, succeeded when he went into the army by a small farmer, aided by the minister and a local committee;  
school master and minister with small committee;  
minister assisted by the local school staff;  
school master assisted by the blacksmith, the minister, etc.;  
school mistress and minister;  
school master assisted by a committee including the minister and local residents;  
minister.

There is general agreement that with odd exceptions they did their difficult task with courteous patience that generally disarmed antagonism, and with as great efficiency as the ambiguous character of their duties and their powers allowed. Among the returns there are now and again to be found accusations that some of them for fear of giving offence or incurring unpopularity pandered to the rich and influential people in their districts. But the evidence goes to show that on the whole they did their job impartially and well.

### ALLOCATION TO BILLETS

The last-minute alteration in numbers was the cause of much of the confusion complained of in some districts. The harassed officials were reduced at times to haphazard billeting, with the result that some people received too many evacuees while others received none at all.

The system appears to have been—'Mrs Brown can take six; pick them and send them off; any six will do.' This method sufficed for most of the evacuees; there were, however, complications. The Government had issued a recommendation that families were to be kept together as far as possible, and this was generally done, with the result that some of the larger families could not be billeted at all. Nearly all the districts seem to have observed this principle, families being divided only as a

last resort and usually assigned to neighbouring houses. Indeed, the mothers with children saw to this themselves by steadfastly refusing to part from their families. Where as a result of this refusal, they could not be billeted, many of them solved the problem by going home.

In regard to the allocation of billets an analysis of the reports shows that different methods were followed in different districts:

Direct selection by householders . . . . .	20	districts
Allotment according to accommodation . . . . .	16	"
Allotment according to size of family and sex . . . . .	12	"
Allotment according to pre-stated preference . . . . .	5	"
Attempt to ensure convenience and comfort of evacuees . . . . .	3	"
Allotment in order of houses on list . . . . .	2	"
Allotment to those willing to receive . . . . .	1	"
Haphazard . . . . .	16	"

It is to be noted that from only 3 districts out of 76 is it reported that any attempt was made to match evacuees and hosts on a social or religious basis, and that none of them was successful. In a few others the problem did not arise owing to the similarity between the two parties, while in the vast majority of districts it was quite impossible to do anything about it. Especially was this true with Roman Catholic children who had to be sent to districts that were overwhelmingly Protestant.

The haphazard allotment of evacuees was the worst possible method. In the absence of intelligent arrangement old and inexperienced people were apt to be given large numbers of children to deal with, and children and their parents were in many cases billeted with people whose manners and behaviour were very different from their own.

The method of direct selection which was most favoured had much to recommend it on the surface. Presumably if a householder made a choice, the householder would be satisfied; but it worked out badly because it was apt to produce much resentment both among the evacuees and among the householders who got 'second pick.' Here are some comments by correspondents:

'The children were selected by the householders, a fact which they deeply resented (one boy remarked it was like a cattle show).'

'Potato farmers selected strong-looking boys—for obvious reasons.'

'Wealthy householders having the ear of the billeting officers selected their evacuees first, and they mostly chose unaccompanied children.'

'As the morning advanced, one or two householders "called in for their evacuees." Naturally they scanned the children and picked those of best appearance.'

The conclusion forced upon the reader of the district reports is that billeting officers resident in the area in which they were assigning evacuees had too difficult a task. It would have been better, as two or three correspondents suggest, if a Government official or some other person from outside had done the work.

Let us now see the attitude of the householders in the receiving areas when they were confronted with the guests imposed on them. Out of 66 reports on the subject 57 state that the attitude of the householders was friendly, though 14 of them qualify the word 'friendly' by adding 'but apprehensive.' Six others merely report 'apprehensive.' Two districts are reported to have been 'resigned' to the infliction of evacuees as a war-time duty. Only 1 district is reported as being definitely hostile, while 5 others are reported hostile in parts. Over all there was less antagonism than might have been expected, considering how much family life was likely to be upset by the intrusion of strangers; but pity and sympathy and a sense of public obligation seem to have won the day. Unfortunately the early friendliness later degenerated into hostility, but that is another story.

Perhaps this is the place to mention the public-spirited action of all those with motor-cars who offered their services during the days of evacuation most unselfishly and generously. Everywhere volunteers were forthcoming for this service. The reports are unanimous on this point.

#### TYPE OF BILLET

The replies to the questionnaire are rather vague on the proportions of evacuees accepted by different types of households. A rough-and-ready classification was offered to those replying, by a division into wealthy, middle-class and working-class houses, but such a division has obviously a different connotation for different people. Its chief value lies in its affording a general idea of how different sections of the communities affected accepted their responsibilities.

The figures available, rough as they are, make it clear that all classes responded well. As might be expected, the bulk of the evacuees were billeted in middle-class and working-class homes, and met much the same welcome in both, but since many of the receiving areas were almost exclusively composed of middle-class and wealthy households, while others were almost exclusively working-class, it is difficult to make direct comparison. There was possibly a tendency to avoid using wealthy homes in some districts, but there is no ground in the evidence available for thinking that such households over all shirked their obligations. In many districts, indeed, they accepted from half to a majority of the evacuees.

Surprisingly, very little use seems to have been made of halls, empty

houses and institutions like holiday camps. Out of 66 reports on the subject only 14 mention the use of empty houses, 4 the use of halls and 7 the use of institutions. A possible explanation is provided by the considerable difference between the numbers of evacuees expected and actual numbers arriving.

Speaking broadly there seems to have been little cause for complaint concerning the type of accommodation provided. There is a report of a householder, already boarding a number of mental defectives, locking these poor inmates of the house upstairs to conceal their presence in order to obtain a proportion of children. A rich gentleman was generous enough to provide good-class evacuated children and their teacher with a large dungeon-like apartment and bare stone walls, and was rather hurt when they withdrew as hurriedly as they could. But such cases were highly exceptional.

Occasionally when children from well-to-do homes were sent to working-class areas the billets provided were rather poorer in quality than the evacuees were accustomed to, and there was special complaint where there was not an inside water supply and the sanitation was of the primitive kind common in country districts. But the vast majority of the evacuees were obviously provided with accommodation of a class equal to, and in very many instances superior to, their own homes.

Some of the commentators remark that in their districts the working classes offered the best response to the appeal for billets because the billeting allowances meant a useful addition to the family income. There is perhaps some truth in this assertion. In one district where the richer classes took a high proportion of the children there were complaints from their poorer neighbours that this was unjust, since the richer people did not need the money. As a matter of fact, one correspondent notes, the middle-class people who fed the evacuees as well as they fed their own children were out of pocket on the transaction. Their service was a disinterested contribution to the common good.

#### HEALTH AND CONDITION OF EVACUEES

When we come to the burning question of the health and cleanliness of evacuees it has to be confessed that the replies to the questionnaire have failed to yield reliable figures. The chief difficulty seems to be that the preliminary medical inspection in the reception areas was often rather perfunctory, and that only in a few districts were statistics kept in the early days. One of the most complete statements comes from Stirling, where 198 adults and 827 children out of 2,300 evacuees were examined a few days after their evacuation <sup>1</sup>:

<sup>1</sup> Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health, Stirling, 1939.

	Adults	Children
Infected with vermin . . . .	12	95
Infected with scabies . . . .	2	12
Infected with septic sores . . . .	13	94
Failure to keep the body clean . . . .	13	48
Dirty state of clothing . . . .	25	153

Resulting from the reception of evacuees in Stirling Burgh, 2,800 articles consisting of blankets, mattresses, sheets, pillowcases, personal wear, etc. were disinfected.

The questionnaire asked for percentages in respect of uncleanliness and in some cases they were given, but a good many of the figures have been supplied by observers relying on memory and with little evidence or observation to justify them. Some of the observers, reflecting the prejudices of their districts, quote a figure as high as 100 per cent.; others more moderate in tone, but scarcely more convincing, suggest that the percentage of really unclean children was quite low. Most of the answers do not give figures at all, merely saying, 'Most,' 'A few,' 'Some,' 'A considerable number,' in answer to the question, 'What percentage of the evacuees were unclean in person and clothing?' Their estimates are given, however, for what they are worth.

According to the answers from 25 districts from 20 up to 90 and 100 per cent. were unclean in person and verminous, principally in the hair. In 6 replies the answer is 'None,' including one case in which the writer states that this clean bill was given by the doctor who examined the evacuees on arrival. The rest of the reporters note a limited number of cases, quoting figures (obviously official) such as '5 out of 91 evacuees,' '6 out of 236,' '6 out of 151,' '9 out of 114,' '16 out of 2,714,' '20 out of 400 evacuees.' One gives a percentage of 2 for 59; another mentions 5 per cent. for 1,244 evacuees.

The chief trouble, in point of fact, was dirty heads, and dirty heads are hard to count.

Here are a few specimen quotations:

1. 'All clean and properly clad,' according to the Chairman of a District Council.
2. 'On a conservative estimate 60 per cent. of the evacuees were unclean in person and clothing. An Ayrshire Education Committee nurse estimated that fully 90 per cent. were verminous.'
3. 'In my own section I placed 51 children. Cleanliness must be judged by a personal standard, but at least 50 per cent. were quite clean in person and clothing; 10 per cent. were verminous, none were suffering from diseases.'
4. 'I have ascertained' (the writer is a chief billeting officer in a fairly large burgh) 'by means of a questionnaire that the two

general complaints against the evacuees, namely, lack of personal cleanliness and unruly conduct, have not been so serious in this town as one might be led to believe. The questionnaire was replied to by 124 householders who received either unaccompanied children or mothers and children. I find that only 17 householders complain that the children were actually dirty, and only 9 complain as to the conduct of mothers or children. Generally speaking, it would appear that only 13·7 per cent. of the householders have any definite complaint regarding cleanliness, and only 8 per cent. have complaints regarding conduct. Admittedly even this total so far as regarded cleanliness should have been quite avoidable by proper medical examination at the sending area, but the figures shown rather disprove the unfortunate tendency to exaggerate the condition of the children generally.'

5. 'Unclean in person and clothing—

15 per cent. (opinion of supervisor in sending area).

37 per cent. (opinion of chief billeting officer in receiving area).'

6. Two discrepant reports come from the same area.

Official: 'Unclean in person and clothing—numerous.

Verminous—about 70 per cent. (this was originally estimated at 50 per cent., but experience at the clinic indicated a much higher percentage).'

The receiving head master: 'Various estimates are given as to the condition of evacuees on 1st September. I have heard it said that 75 per cent. were unclean and verminous, and again 50 per cent., but as there was no medical examination on that day no reliable figures can be given. Schools reopened on 12th September, and I can say that on that date, in outward appearance at least, the children were as clean and tidy as the locals.'

7. 'One informant says, "A small percentage" were unclean.

Another (teacher) says 80 per cent. Where is the truth here? In any event the observer (the head master of the local school) adds that no cases of verminous children were reported to him.'

From the replies it is evident that there were large pockets, so to speak, of uncleanliness, and that some districts were very unfortunate, but that on the whole the great majority of the children were reasonably clean in person. Head vermin were more widely spread, but how much was due to infection on the journey, and even in the billets from other evacuees, it is impossible to tell. On the whole there appears to have been a considerable amount of exaggeration of the evil. Despite the

exaggeration there remains a solid core of dirty children, whose condition was no credit to the authorities of the evacuation areas, or to Scotland.

Skin diseases, apart from impetigo, seem to have been uncommon. 27 questionnaires report skin diseases, mainly impetigo, while only 4 mention scabies. The incidence of impetigo was slight, except in 7 areas where percentages of from 5 to 20 are reported.

In Aberdeenshire the County Isolation Hospitals at Peterhead, Fraserburgh and Aboyne, from September to December 1939, admitted 29 cases of scabies, 18 of impetigo, and 22 of lice infection that were too advanced for home treatment to be effective or where homes did not permit of the necessary attention being given.

There were some isolated cases of children suffering from infectious diseases like measles and scarlet fever at the time of evacuation, but considering the difficulty of diagnosis in the very early stages of some of these diseases and the large number of children involved (over 26,000 being covered by our returns) this is hardly surprising, though one can appreciate the indignation of a householder burdened with such children.

From all the districts there are only 6 cases of children suffering from venereal disease being sent, a negligible proportion of the total.

#### ENURESIS

The resentment caused by bed-wetting (and worse, in one or two instances) was widely spread, more than half of the reports indicating its presence. Again it is to be regretted that the information supplied cannot be tabulated. The nearest approach to definiteness may perhaps be got by a list of the percentages recorded in certain returns, obviously based on careful local inquiry:

4 per cent.	out of 591 evacuees
2	350
12	200
10	135
6	50
1·2	994
7½	56
30 (probably)	683
5	169
10	133
14	1,998
33	511
25	800

Many questionnaires content themselves with saying, 'A few.' It is impossible to estimate the numbers of temporary cases as compared

with permanent ones, but so far as can be judged from the reports the number of permanent cases was small, and many cures were effected by householders who insisted upon regular habits. The excitement and nervousness of the first days and nights and perhaps the cold of country houses accounted for a large number of the temporary cases. Even so, there were too many children who seemed never to have been trained to make use of proper toilet conveniences. Some of the reports dwell at great length on one or two very bad cases. There would be little profit in quoting them. They include two harrowing tales of defecation in bed, a report of children who used the room they lived in as a lavatory, and an interesting case of a woman teacher who claimed to have cured a persistent offender by threatening a smacking.

Damage to property, including bedding, was quite considerable in some districts, though comparatively few cases are reported of householders claiming compensation from the authorities. Reference is made to damage done in 41 questionnaires, mostly to bedding; and there are occasional stories of serious damage like that of one householder who claimed £80, and many stories of children who worked mischief unwittingly, like those who smashed a boat by untying a rope while exploring their new surroundings. Even in the reports relating to large burghs mention is made only once of a dozen cases of claims for damage. The conclusion can hardly be escaped that while there was a good deal of damage in some localities most of it was more annoying than serious.

The majority of the householders dealt with the evacuees' troubles and difficulties on their own. There was varied help available in many districts from doctors, nurses, V.A.D.s. and the W.R.I., but in no case, so far as our information goes, did the evacuation area give assistance either by sending doctors, nurses or child guidance experts.<sup>1</sup> In a matter like enuresis use might have been made of psychologists in the service of the Education Authorities for the treatment of bad cases and for the general guidance of the householders in the receiving area.

From time to time, one gathers, the suggestion was made that difficult children and their parents should be dealt with by some form of segregation. Seven districts indeed are reported to have followed this course, but no details are forthcoming. So far as can be judged, all that this amounted to in practice was the setting aside of empty houses for dirty families. Most of the districts, when confronted with any serious problem, seem to have been content with evasive action. They just sent the children home. Nobody seemed to have envisaged the possibility of the psychological problems of home and school turning up in more

<sup>1</sup> Though no reference is made to the matter by any of the reporters, a certain number of the more serious cases of difficult behaviour were dealt with by the Glasgow and Dundee Child Guidance Clinics. See Miss MacCallum's report on Nerston, pp. 170-191.

disturbing forms under the new conditions of evacuation, and no preparation had been made to deal with them. This lack of provision is another indication of the scrappy nature of the arrangements. There was little or no guidance from the higher authorities to whom both sending and receiving areas were entitled to look for imaginative assistance.

#### REASONS ADDUCED FOR THE FAILURE OF BILLETING

Most of the correspondents, speaking from their own experience and backed by the judgment of associates in their districts, characterise the evacuation scheme, with or without qualification, as a failure. Some even go so far as to say that it should be given up because its continuance gave a false sense of security and stood in the way of other measures being taken for the safety of the children. All agree that the outcome was exceedingly disappointing; that, in spite of much self-denying effort and a great social upheaval, the scheme failed to draw away half the mothers and children from vulnerable areas, and still worse, failed to keep those away who left their homes originally.

The reasons given to account for this failure are fourfold: those affecting both householders and evacuees, those chiefly affecting householders, those chiefly affecting evacuees, and miscellaneous reasons.

The total number of correspondents giving detailed views on this was 89. In the discussion of the various reasons the number of returns in which they are mentioned is indicated, but it must be remembered that this number is no measure of the relative occurrence of difficulties. Eleven reports, for example, refer to lack of privacy in the home as a reason for the failure of billeting, but there was wellnigh universal complaint on this score and far more than a tenth of the householders must have been so affected.

#### Difficulties affecting both Householders and Evacuees

*Financial difficulties* (25 instances). This difficulty, the one most frequently mentioned, was undoubtedly very real, and it cut both ways. Six of the correspondents emphasise the householder's difficulty of keeping children on the Government allowances, while the rest indicate that the cost of maintaining two homes was too much for many of the evacuee families in which the mother accompanied her children, especially when it was combined with the higher cost of living in some of the country villages and seaside resorts.

*Incompatibility, two women in one home, general misunderstanding, and different ways of working* (19 instances) are all aspects of the same human difficulty. There was often, it appears, very little spirit of give and take, and people temperamentally unsuited to one another were brought into close association in one billet. This was perhaps unavoidable. It was

undoubtedly one of the chief reasons for the mothers wanting to go back to their own homes. Friction among relatives is not unknown, and it can be understood that with strangers from totally different social environments the incompatibilities of life would prove even more disturbing.

*Class difference* (14 instances). Naturally social distinctions affected the relationships of the two groups. Some householders had no understanding of the evacuees, and even despised them, and the evacuees retorted with dislike. This worked both ways, as in some instances the children came from homes superior to their billets and with the unconscious cruelty of youth were critical of the ways of their working-class hosts, their food, their setting of the table, etc.

*Language* (2 instances) was sometimes a bar. Children and parents speaking the dialect of Glasgow and the west of Scotland had difficulty in making themselves understood and found trouble in understanding the speech of their hosts when they were billeted, for example, in the remote north-east of Scotland. This difference often accompanies class differences, but the difficulty noted in the 2 specific instances was rather the result of change of environment than of difference in class. If time had been allowed it would soon have cleared up, as happened in the schools where local children and evacuees soon ceased to be critical of each other's speech.

*Religious differences* (11 instances). The chief religious difficulty was connected with the billeting of Roman Catholic evacuees in fairly strong Protestant districts where there was little or no provision for the evacuees' religious exercises. An odd instance is recorded of a bigoted devotee refusing to let the children in his care attend any Roman Catholic service. This was most exceptional, but even so friction often resulted, sometimes from the evacuees' necessity for fasting at certain times which entailed re-arrangement of the Sunday breakfast, sometimes from the tactlessness of the hosts. If greater foresight had been exercised, more Roman Catholic evacuees could have been billeted with their co-religionists, but with the disparity in numbers of the religious bodies it is doubtful if billeting them on Protestants could have been avoided. It is rather interesting to note that the billeting of a party of Jewish children seems to have aroused little prejudice and caused no difficulties.

*Lack of danger from immediate bombing* (4 instances). Though this consideration of continued freedom from bombing is mentioned in only 4 replies, it seems probable that many families came home or were gradually edged out because it was felt that the need for evacuation was past. If there had been heavy bombing in the early days of the war there would have been a greater disposition on both sides to accept the inconveniences of life in the country and to settle down and make the best of it.

*Lack of accommodation* (3 instances). Though only 3 replies give this as a specific reason, it is possible to trace its effects indirectly in many of the other reports. It affected both hosts and guests. Small houses presented difficulty in accommodating extra people, and the hosts, still more the hostesses, found themselves cramped in their own homes, while many of the evacuees, accustomed to the amenities of the towns, were inclined to despise what seemed to them poor accommodation.

#### Difficulties affecting Householders

*Dirt, dirty habits and bad manners* (17 instances). Though only mentioned specifically 17 times as a cause of trouble, these upsetting features accounted for a very considerable number of differences. The habits of a certain section of city dwellers were revolting to decent country folks, as indeed they would be to most people.

*Visits from parents and friends* (15 instances). This was a prolific source of trouble. Visits from parents were apt to unsettle the children and make them homesick; the parents listened to the children's tales and sometimes made trouble; visitors expected or demanded meals and even week-end lodging; parents interfered between the children and their new guardians.

*Difficult evacuee mothers* (23 instances). All sorts of epithets are employed by the reporters in describing the troublesome mothers—'limp,' 'truculent,' 'lazy,' 'stupid'—and some of them justified the worst that could be said about them. Some of the women obviously came for a holiday and expected all sorts of services as a matter of right. Two reports refer to mothers who expected breakfast in bed and mention is made in a few cases of women who lay in bed all forenoon. A common rejoinder in moments of stress was, 'You're being paid to do it!' One woman even wanted money to take her and her family to the cinema. Such cases were exceptional; but there were plenty of them to make a deep impression on harassed householders. More comprehensively, there was a dislike of adults in general, whether helper, teacher or parent (4 instances), often due to too close contact in limited accommodation, sometimes to the self-consciousness engendered by the superior social class of the guests.

*Lack of privacy and the upset of family life* (11 instances). This in some form was an almost universal difficulty, and one that increased with the months. 'The hoose is no' oor ain,' said one housewife, expressing the feelings of many whose complaints did not get into the reports.

*Doubts about authority over children* (6 instances). When questions of behaviour arose some householders seem to have had misgivings about the extent of their powers. Most of them probably regarded themselves in loco parentis, but where parental visits were frequent or mothers

were jealous of their children's guardians there was a confusion of authority which some people found disturbing.

*Difficult children* (8 instances). In the complaints of householders 'difficult' was a word that covered a wide range of childish delinquencies from mere disobedience (one guardian complained because a girl of 14 refused to go to bed at 6 p.m.) to minor forms of crime (one or two court cases are reported). Fighting and rowdiness figure in this category.

*The inability of some people to manage children* (5 instances). This was specially common when vigorous youngsters were billeted with old people or with women who had no experience of children. The problem was generally solved by tactful rebilleting.

*Damage to property* (5 instances). How much damage was really done it is impossible to tell. Complaints were common, but, judged by the number of claims for compensation submitted, it was rarely serious. It is easy to see, however, that childish carelessness could be a common source of friction, especially with a house-proud woman hurt by strangers showing too little regard for her household goods.

*Moral offences* (5 instances). Serious moral situations were rare but very disturbing when they did occur. One case is mentioned of an evacuee mother who had left her husband at home but arrived with a 'boy friend.' One bad girl had to be removed to an approved school. Actually the incidence of complaint was not high. One curious note concerns two difficult boys who were billeted with an ex-Borstal householder and finished their evacuation career in the police court.

*The labour involved in providing for evacuees* (13 instances). This difficulty occurred in different forms; for example, servants would not stay (noted on 3 replies), housewife resented extra cooking (1 instance), there was too much extra work (3 instances), the presence of evacuees tied the housewife to the house (4 replies). These objections were by no means wholly selfish, as in a large number of cases attendance on the evacuees was practically a whole-time job. Lack of proper help (2 replies) was also alleged. As has been indicated already, volunteer helpers were generally not encouraged in the reception areas.

*Medical reasons* (7 instances). These were miscellaneous in character. Objections were made to the care of sickly children. In some instances illness in the householders' families made the evacuee children unwelcome, and one reply mentions householders' fear of children turning ill on their hands and doubt as to who should pay for the doctor. As a rule children were removed when they became ill.

These are the chief reasons householders had for disliking evacuees, but it is worth while to list other reasons that occur in individual returns and throw light on the reactions of householders.

There was difficulty in not a few cases in making parents provide clothing, etc. for their children—out of sight, out of mind (4 instances).

'Other people have no evacuees, why should we?' (1 instance). 'The evacuees showed no gratitude' (1 instance). It was difficult sometimes to make evacuees go to bed at a reasonable hour (3 instances). 'Evacuees were out to obtain something for nothing' (1 instance). This reply quotes an evacuee boy of good class as telling the householder that he was staying on to get his education at a free school to save the payment of fees at home. Lack of necessary equipment (2 instances) is mentioned; the authorities had promised blankets, etc., but had not implemented their promise. Seaside landladies desired to let their rooms to summer visitors (1 instance). This is noted in an official document as being a common difficulty at one resort. The landladies were glad of winter lets to evacuees, but when the summer came round put up the rent of their rooms or made a further stay impossible.

#### Difficulties of Evacuees.

These again were legion.

*The inability of evacuees to adjust themselves to their new environment* (27 instances). This is the reason most commonly given on the side of the evacuees. Town dwellers did not take to the country. They missed their neighbours, their ordinary occupations and their amusements, and they found the country boring. 'There's too much grass about,' said one woman. Sometimes they were upset by expressions of contempt on the part of country people who thought little of townsfolk, and did not hesitate to say so. Time sometimes rectified matters, but the majority did not give time any chance to work.

*The distance of billets from shops, etc.* (8 instances) was another factor in maladjustment. So also was the *lack of perambulators* (1 instance).

*Strange food* (10 instances). This was seemingly a common difficulty. Town-bred children, used to 'fish suppers,' chip potatoes and tinned foods, objected to good plain cooking. It is possible, of course, that the cooking was not always 'good'; but despite this it seems indubitable that apart from mere unfamiliarity the palates of a large number of the children were vitiated. One case is recorded of children who had never eaten a boiled egg before. In this connection one sagacious observer notes that change of food, air and water made many of the children fractious until they became acclimatised.

*Unsuitable billets* (23 instances) were another very common source of trouble. Some of the objections registered are:

Billets unsuitable because of presence of mentally defective boarders	.	.	.	.	3 districts
Lack of cooking facilities	.	.	.	.	3 "
Lack of sanitation	.	.	.	.	8 "
Lack of water, gas, electricity	.	.	.	.	6 "

Some evacuees were awed by houses that were 'too grand' (4 districts). Others were disgusted by houses inferior to their own (4 districts).

*Concern about the home left behind* (7 instances). In some cases husbands desired the wife's return; in others wives were anxious about husbands, especially when they were in need of attention for health, or in danger of going off with other women, as in the case of one young wife who went home because she was suspicious about her husband and could not bear to leave him on his own.

*Homesickness* (6 instances). Though this is only mentioned specifically in 6 replies it is obvious that many children and parents were influenced by this consideration. There is only one case mentioned in which the parents brought back the child because they missed him, but there is other evidence that this was widespread.

#### Other Considerations

To all those worries of householders and evacuees have to be added a number of disturbing conditions of a general character, recorded by the correspondents. Two of these seem worthy of special mention.

*Defects of local organisation* (6 instances). In one case it is recorded that there was 'no provision for rebilleting'; in other cases (how many it is impossible to say) children had to return home when they left the original billet because in spite of all the efforts of the billeting officer, or because of lack of effort on his part, there was no suitable place available. Complaint is made again of 'the uselessness of local officials,' a vague charge which in the circumstances of evacuation had probably justification in some cases. In another case, again reported only as an occasional happening, resentment was expressed at compulsion being applied by a billeting officer to bring about a change of billet. In point of fact, change of billets, even under the best conditions, seems to have been apt to cause difficulty, and at a later stage when billets had to be changed to give harassed householders relief it was responsible for the return of not a few children.

*Accessibility of the home town* (7 instances). The distance of the receiving area from the sending area affected the evacuees in two ways. On the one hand—the more common case—nearness was apt to make the temptation to return too easy. The parents visited too often, prevented the children from settling down, even carried them away on the ground of the unhappiness they themselves had created; and when anything went wrong the older children had only to step on a bus to get home. On the other hand when the receiving area was too far away to allow the parents to visit, they missed their children and were inclined to bring them home.

These then are the legion of difficulties which cumulatively broke down the evacuation scheme. Individually they were most of them of

no great account, but collectively they constituted a mighty complex almost beyond the wit of man to resolve. Perhaps the basic difficulty might be described in despair as 'human nature.'

### SUGGESTIONS

The somewhat vague request to correspondents with which the questionnaire ended, to state which aspects of the evacuation experience seemed to require further consideration, produced a great number and variety of suggestions for the improvement of later evacuations. Some of these had already been anticipated by the Department of Health and put into operation, many of them are familiar to all who have given thought to the complex problems of evacuation. A summary statement of them, without endorsement or criticism, and without any attempt to reconcile contradictory proposals, may fittingly bring this section to an end.

#### General Principles of Organisation

1. Mass evacuation should be discontinued and children despatched from time to time in small groups.
2. The scheme should be confined to school children.
3. Schools should be evacuated as units.
4. So far as possible private billeting should be abandoned, and free use made of institutions, camps, huts, holiday homes and large houses.
5. Special care should be taken to select the reception areas so that they are suitable in regard to social class, educational needs, religious facilities, distance from the sending area, etc.
6. There should be adequate medical inspection before the children leave and periodical medical inspection afterwards.
7. Accurate information regarding numbers, groups, sex, ages, etc. of evacuees should be supplied beforehand to the billeting officers, and information regarding intelligence, character, educational level, etc. to their new teachers.
8. There should be proper co-ordination between the evacuation and the receiving areas, and arrangements should be made to keep the parents informed regarding their children.
9. More use should be made of the children's own teachers.
10. The obligations of evacuees, householders, helpers and teachers should be explicitly defined as well as the powers of the billeting officer.
11. The financial arrangements should be periodically revised to ensure a just payment to the householders, or there should be no payment at all.

12. The scheme should be compulsory on all householders, and evacuees should not be allowed to depart without notice.

#### Suggestions with Regard to Billeting

1. As far as possible evacuees should be billeted with relatives and friends.
2. Every effort should be made to match householders and evacuees, according to social class and religion.
3. The number of children allotted to any household should be kept small.
4. Householders should be given full authority over children.
5. There should be institutional provision for 'difficult' children and for children who may turn ill.
6. Billets should be inspected periodically.
7. Mothers with families should be billeted in furnished houses.

#### Suggestions for the Relief of Householders

1. Householders should receive domestic help and periodical relief.
2. Adequate facilities for schooling should be available in all receiving areas and for the oversight of study.
3. Varied recreations outside the homes should be organised for the evacuees, especially at week-ends.
4. There should be communal meals, at least at mid-day, preferably seven days a week.
5. Parental visits should be limited, and outside meeting places arranged.

#### APPENDIX

##### A GENERAL QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CORRESPONDENTS ON THE EARLY STAGES OF EVACUATION

Will you please answer as many of the following queries as you conveniently can? Where a question relates to something outside your experience and you are not able to find anyone able to give you first-hand information, pass it by.

Try to be as concrete as you can. By all means give general opinions, but if possible illustrate by specific cases.

The questions are merely suggestive. You are invited to be irrelevant and follow your own line at any point you care.

Please define the district to which your replies refer.

###### 1. *Preparatory Arrangements*

What was the response of your district to the appeal for billets? How many billets were promised for (a) unaccompanied children, (b) mothers with preschool children, (c) mothers with preschool and school children, and (d) other classes (specify)? What was the attitude of different classes of households (wealthy, middle class, working class) to the appeal for billets? What were the main

objections to receiving evacuees? (Age of householder? Householder too busy to look after children? Insufficient accommodation? No experience with children? Illness in the house? Any other reason?) Did many of the objectors seem to be evading responsibility without proper cause?

What preparations were made by (i) individual householders (give examples) and (ii) the community (*e.g.* the local authority, reception committees, W.V.S., churches) for the reception and welfare of the expected evacuees?

#### *2. The Numbers Expected*

How many evacuees of each of the four groups above were expected? Was definite and correct information received as to the number of each group of evacuees? Was any information received about the age, sex, religion or social class of the evacuees?

#### *3. The Numbers Arriving*

How many Government evacuees of each group actually arrived at the time of the original evacuation? How many teachers and official helpers arrived with them? From what school(s) did the children of school age come? Can you give any information relating to the age, sex, religion and social class of the evacuees?

#### *4. Private Evacuation*

How many children came to your district by private arrangement? Can you say what proportion (a) came as a family to furnished rooms, (b) were boarded with relatives or close friends, (c) were boarded with strangers?

#### *5. The Reception of Evacuees*

Give a brief account of your impressions of the arrival of the Government evacuees: *e.g.* times of arrival; footwear and clothing of evacuees; mood of the children and of mothers on arrival (cheerful? excited? worried? depressed? lacking assurance?); arrangements for looking after evacuees while billeting was in progress; transport arrangements.

What was the prevailing mood of householders on the arrival of evacuees (friendly? hostile? indifferent? apprehensive?)?

#### *6. Billeting*

What types of persons carried out the billeting arrangements (town or county officials, teachers, ministers, leisured citizens)?

On what principles were the children allocated to householders (alphabetically, according to age, sex, family grouping, haphazardly, or selection by householders)?

How far did billeting officers attempt, successfully or otherwise, to match evacuees and householders according to (a) social class, (b) religion?

Was special consideration given to the allocation of families as units?

Is it possible to indicate in what proportion evacuees were distributed among (i) wealthy households, (ii) middle-class households, (iii) working-class households, (iv) empty houses, (v) halls and public buildings, (vi) institutions (holiday homes, hotels, camps, schools, etc.)?

Were there many cases in which undue pressure was put on the billeting officer (*a*) to secure specially selected evacuees, (*b*) to evade billeting altogether? What percentage of the households had no evacuees assigned to them? Is it possible to estimate the number of evacuees in these cases?

*7. The Health and Condition of Evacuees*

What percentage of the evacuees were (i) unclean in person and clothing, (ii) verminous, (iii) suffering from skin complaints, (iv) suffering from infectious diseases or other serious conditions?

What proportion of children proved to be bed-wetters? Distinguish, if possible, between temporary and permanent cases.

Were there many cases of damage done to beds, carpets, etc.?

How were these problems dealt with by (*a*) the householders, (*b*) local doctors, nurses, social workers, etc., (*c*) doctors, nurses, child guidance experts sent down from the evacuation areas?

Was any attempt made to segregate difficult cases?

*8. Difficulties*

What were the principal difficulties experienced by householders and their guests in the early stages of evacuation? In cases of difficulty was there provision for rebilleting, and other forms of re-adjustment?

9. Which aspect of the evacuation experience seems to you to deserve further consideration?

## THE PARENTS AND EVACUATION

In a voluntary scheme of evacuation the most important single factor, determining success or failure, is the judgment of the parents. On that depends whether the children are registered and whether they will turn up on the day of departure; and on that in large measure depends whether the children will stay away when they have been evacuated, and how long. The reactions of the children and of the receiving householders are obviously important; but except in those cases in which the child insists on coming home (as in the case of the boy who threatened to run away if not allowed to leave), or in the case in which the householder packs off the evacuee who has outstayed his welcome, or the billeting officer discovers that there is no available billet when a change is called for, the central fact in the situation is the decision of the parents.

Why was a large proportion of the child population not evacuated even in the most vulnerable areas? Why did a quite considerable number return home within the first few weeks, and most of the rest come dribbling back as the months went on? Why, "in spite of the general trek homeward, were there still some children who remained settled in their new homes at the end of a year? For many reasons and under many conditions, no doubt, but in the main because of the views and actions of the parents.

In the present inquiry the problems of evacuation have been approached from this angle. It is evident that with the great diversity of conditions under which evacuation took place over the country no one town or district is typical enough to indicate the attitudes of parents in general. Middle-class parents react differently in some respects from parents of the skilled-worker class, and those again differently from those living under slum conditions. Nevertheless there are some common elements in the situation. Mothers and children separated from each other will behave more or less similarly whatever their education or their religion, or their home background or their billets. In such matters 'the colonel's lady and Judy O'Grady are sisters under their skin'; and there is a human kinship in their youngsters.

In an attempt to determine some of the common features in the personal side of evacuation, a study has been made of a representative sample of the whole school population of a Scottish town with the help of teachers and parents. The town chosen for this purpose was Clydebank, an industrial burgh of 48,000 inhabitants adjoining Glasgow, known to the world as the mother-town of some of the most famous

ships that sail the Seven Seas. Clydebank has some advantages for such an inquiry. It has a distinctive character of its own as an industrial centre little more than half a century old, almost wholly working class in constitution, with only a limited group of shopkeepers and professional people rather better off than the workers, and practically no people of leisure. The children were evacuated under the Government scheme to the less densely populated districts in the county of Dunbarton in which the town is situated, with the exception of two schools which were sent across the county borders into Argyll. The children were therefore a homogeneous lot, belonging to different sections of the working-class population with no slum element and almost no middle-class representatives; and the contacts with the receiving areas were closer and more intimate than those of a large evacuating city like Glasgow, which had to spread its evacuees over many counties of Scotland. In addition to this, a special reason for the choice of Clydebank was that the investigator was in an exceptionally favoured position for getting and understanding the facts of the Clydebank evacuation. At the time of the inquiry he resided in Clydebank, was a member of the Dunbartonshire Education Committee and of the local School Management Committee, and besides had taken a considerable part in the organisation of connections between evacuating and receiving areas, as a member of an active Evacuation Committee under W.V.S. auspices.

While the facts and figures got from the 8 Clydebank schools form the core of the material of inquiry, they have been supplemented and extended by similar information got from 4 Glasgow schools and a Dundee school, serving working-class districts of different types in those cities.

#### THE METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

Three question cards were prepared in consultation with a number of experts, some in Glasgow University, acquainted with the methods of social research, and others in Clydebank, familiar with local conditions and acquainted with the facts of evacuation. The first card was concerned with the children who had not been evacuated. It sought information regarding the reasons for the children not being sent away: their occupations during the period when the schools were closed; and some of the effects of their experience. The second was concerned with the children who had been away but had come back; whether the child had gone with mother and family, or with brothers and sisters without the mother, or quite unaccompanied; the social level of the receiving household, whether working-class, better-to-do, or wealthy; the schooling he had got in the receiving area; how long he had been away; above all, why he had come back, and whether it was the child or the

parents or the householders who had been mainly responsible for his return. The third was for the children who had been evacuated and were still away at the time of the inquiry at the beginning of May 1940; it was on the same lines as the second card, but asked, instead of reasons for return, reasons for the continued success of the evacuation.

Thanks to the facilities given by the Education Committee and the Director of Education and to the good will of the teachers in all the Clydebank schools, it was possible to get the parents to come to the schools for interview on the basis of the question cards, either by one of the principal teachers for all the school, or by the class teachers for their own classes. The head teachers made a list of every seventh child on every register in the schools, and requested the parents to come and give information about evacuation as they had experienced it. The cards were filled up in accordance with carefully prepared instructions, which indicated among other things how the questions were to be asked and the need of noting not merely the direct answers but what seemed to the teacher to underlie them.

There are in Clydebank 8 schools, 6 Protestant (2 purely primary, 3 primary with post-primary divisions, and a full secondary school) and 2 Catholic schools (one with a post-primary division). The entire school population in June 1939 amounted to 7,680 (Protestants 5,280, Catholics 2,360), of whom 2,652 (1,814 Protestants and 838 Catholics) went off under the scheme at the beginning of September. It was hoped by inviting the parents of every seventh child to get a sample of nearly 1,000. The actual number for whom cards were filled was 674. In all the circumstances that was very satisfactory. Apart from the fact that there are always some people who ignore such invitations, the schools were working on shifts because of the shortage of shelter accommodation, and it was not possible to get in touch with some of the homes. Hence some gaps in the sample. 250 pupils in the final years of the secondary course, for example, were attending a school in a neighbouring town and are not represented in the sample at all. One school had not yet been able to bring in the infant classes and there are no children below the age of 7 in its returns. In spite of all such irregularities the sample is a good one, as the distribution of the children in respect of such fundamental characteristics as sex, age, social rank, etc. shows.

One other peculiarity which must be noted is the under-representation of the children who were not evacuated. Whether it was that the parents whose children had stayed at home did not think that they had any information to give about evacuation, or, as one head master suggested and another confirmed, that they were 'evacuation shy,' and perhaps feared that they were going to be pressed for the next evacuation, it is difficult to say. But comparison between the proportions of the

groups in the sample with the corresponding groups in the school population shows that while the parents of the evacuated children came forward in good numbers, many of the parents of the non-evacuated held back. Happily it is possible, in this case, to calculate the proportionate numbers and to make allowance for the non-evacuated shortage.

Here are the raw figures of the sample:

	Protestant	Catholic
Number not evacuated . . . . .	190	111
Number originally evacuated under scheme . . . . .	193	81
Number evacuated later under scheme . . . . .	7	3
Total number evacuated under scheme . . . . .	200	84
Number originally evacuated privately . . . . .	71	11
Number later evacuated privately . . . . .	7	..
Total number evacuated privately . . . . .	78	11

Taking these figures at their face value, it would appear that 41 per cent. of the Protestant children were not evacuated as compared with 54 per cent. of the Catholics: a surprising figure for the Protestant group. Further consideration of the figures for the original evacuation in relation to the number actually evacuated raises difficulties. The 193 original Protestant evacuees in the sample compare with 1,814 pupils evacuated under the scheme at the beginning of September. Each individual in the sample, therefore, stands for 9·4. The original 81 Catholic evacuees correspond with 838 evacuated at the same time: 1 to 10·3. But these figures do not include those evacuated privately and those who went later, represented in the sample by 85 Protestant children and 14 Catholic and bringing up the totals in the sample to 278 and 95. If the respective proportions are maintained, for the private and later evacuees, as seems reasonable to expect, there must have been evacuated altogether approximately 2,613 Protestants out of 5,280, and 978 Catholics out of 2,360. Still assuming the proportion of 1 to 9·4 and 1 to 10·3 in the two cases, the number on this reckoning of those not evacuated in the Protestant group should have been 281, and in the Catholic group, 131. Taking the corrected figures for the non-evacuated children, we get the percentages of the different sets as follows:

	Protestant	Catholic
Not evacuated . . . . .	50·3	58·0
Evacuated under the scheme . . . . .	35·7	37·1
Evacuated privately . . . . .	14·0	4·9

For purposes of comparison, returns were got from four Glasgow

Protestant schools, similar in general character to the Clydebank schools (as shown by the number of rooms in the homes of the children and by the occupations of the fathers), and from a Dundee school, also Protestant, of rather higher social rank (judged by the number of rooms in the homes) but not greatly different in occupational composition. The Glasgow schools got their sample on the same basis as the Clydebank, and like them have a better representation of evacuees than of the non-evacuated. The Dundee group is confined to post-primary pupils, mainly girls, and includes all the pupils in certain classes.

Here are the raw figures of the two samples:

	Glasgow	Dundee
Number not evacuated . . . . .	144	64
Number originally evacuated under scheme . . . . .	159	37
Number evacuated later under scheme . . . . .	4	..
<hr/>		
Total number evacuated under scheme . . . . .	163	37
Number evacuated privately . . . . .	21	20

When the figures from the three towns are combined, it will be seen that there are cards for 509 children who were not evacuated, and for 614 children who were, and that of the latter group 130 were evacuated privately. In the subsequent analysis attention will mainly be directed to the Clydebank returns, but any generalisations suggested by them will be checked by reference to the returns from the three towns considered as a whole. We begin by considering the general conditions, social and personal, which may possibly have affected the evacuation situation; in particular, the housing factor (number of rooms in the homes of the children), the family factor (number of children of school age and under in the family), the age factor and the sex factor.

#### GENERAL CONDITIONS, SOCIAL AND PERSONAL

The difference between the Protestant and Catholic children in Clydebank in respect of home conditions is very considerable. Taking all the children in the sample without regard to their evacuation history, the relative percentages are as follows:

	Number of rooms	1	2	3	4 +
Protestant . . . . .	10	50	26	14	
Catholic . . . . .	11	70	16	4	

60 per cent. of the Protestant children live in one- and two-roomed houses, as compared with 81 per cent. of the Catholics, and this difference is made more significant by the fact that Catholic families are larger and their economic status generally lower.

In the Protestant section the percentage of those not evacuated in the four housing groups increases with the number of rooms, and so does the percentage of those evacuated privately. The reverse tendency appears in the percentages of those evacuated under the Government scheme, most going (proportionately) from the one-roomed houses and least from the houses with four or more rooms. The similarity of the non-evacuated and the privately evacuated groups is brought out further by the noticeably close percentages in these two groups. Plainly the better off the Protestant homes are, the less ready are the parents to avail themselves of the scheme and the more they incline to make private arrangements.

In contrast with this the percentage of non-evacuation among the Catholics is practically the same for the four housing levels, and what difference there is in the percentage of evacuation under the scheme is in the opposite direction from the Protestant. In the matter of private evacuation, again, there is also a difference. There are markedly fewer private evacuees, partly no doubt because Catholic families have not so many family connections with Scottish country districts, partly also because of the greater cost of private evacuation which they can less well afford. While the proportion of private evacuees in general increases with the size of the house, it is confined with the Catholics to those in one- and two-roomed houses.

The aggregation of the returns from the three towns, which brings in five more Protestant schools, confirms the two general conclusions suggested by the figures for the Clydebank Protestant schools: that

- (a) the greater the number of rooms in the home, the greater the percentage of those not evacuated, and the less the percentage evacuated under the Government scheme;
- (b) the proportion of those evacuated under the scheme is inversely related to the number of rooms, and the proportion of those privately evacuated directly related.

Testing these hypotheses by the  $\chi^2$  test of significance, we find  $\chi^2$  on the comparison of non-evacuated and evacuated under the scheme is 11.03 with a probability of .01, and on a comparison of Government evacuation and private evacuation, is 10.14 with a probability of .02: a high degree of significance in both cases.

The respective percentages for the sizes of Protestant and Catholic families, represented by the individual children in the Clydebank sample, are as follows:

	Number of children	1	2	3	4	5 +
Protestant	.	34	34	20	8	5
Catholic	.	22	22	18	15	23

*The housing factor (number of rooms in evacuees' homes)*

	Clydebank								The Three Towns						
	Protestant				Catholic										
	Number of Rooms		1	2	3	4+	1	2	3	4+	1	2	3	4+	
Number															
(a) Not evacuated *	.	.	25	133	77	46	14	90	22	5	40	265	121	73	
(b) Evacuated under scheme	.	.	26	110	47	16	8	58	15	3	60	278	95	47	
(c) Evacuated privately	.	.	5	37	22	14	2	9	..	..	9	65	37	19	
Percentage in each of the three evacuation groups †	.	.	(a)	9	47	27	16	11	69	17	4	8	53	24	15
			(b)	13	55	24	8	10	69	18	4	13	58	20	10
			(c)	6	48	28	18	..	..	..	..	7	50	28	15
Percentage in all three groups (a, b, c).	.	.		10	50	26	14	11	69	16	4	10	55	23	13
Percentage in the four housing groups . . . .	.	.	(a)	45	48	53	61	58	57	59	(62)	37	44	48	53
			(b)	46	39	32	21	33	37	41	(38)	55	46	38	34
			(c)	9	13	15	18	8	6	..	..	8	11	15	14

\* Corrected for Clydebank, uncorrected for the three towns.

† In all the tables of this type the percentages relating to the first set of groups are totalled across, those relating to the second set of groups are totalled downward.

*The family factor (number of children in a family)*

	Clydebank								The Three Towns									
	Protestant				Catholic													
	Number of children		1	2	3	4	5+	1	2	3	4	5+	1	2	3	4	5+	
Number																		
(a) Not evacuated *	.	.	115	95	50	19	2	38	32	23	15	23	161	151	91	51	46	
(b) Evacuated under scheme.	.	.	36	61	50	27	25	8	15	14	17	30	69	135	112	72	93	
(c) Evacuated privately	.	.	37	31	10	..	..	3	2	4	2	..	64	48	16	2	..	
Percentage in each of the three evacuation groups . . .	.	.	(a)	41	34	18	7	1	29	24	17	12	18	32	30	18	10	9
			(b)	18	31	25	14	13	10	18	17	20	36	14	28	23	15	19
			(c)	48	40	13	..	..	27	18	31	18	..	49	37	12	2	..
Percentage in all three groups (a, b, c).	.	.		34	34	20	8	5	22	22	18	15	23	27	30	20	11	13
Percentage in the five family groups . . . .	.	.	(a)	61	51	46	41	7	78	65	56	44	43	55	45	42	41	33
			(b)	19	33	46	59	93	16	31	34	50	57	23	41	51	58	67
			(c)	20	17	9	..	..	6	4	10	6	..	22	14	7	2	..

\* Corrected for Clydebank, uncorrected for the three towns.

In both Catholic and Protestant sections there is a direct and consistent relation between the size of the family and the proportion of the evacuees under the scheme, and inversely between the size of the family and the proportion of those not evacuated. Evidently the smaller the family the tighter the grip the parents keep on the children. This is specially noticeable in the case of the Catholic parents. The proportion of children not evacuated in all the five family groups among the Catholics is greater than the proportion of those not evacuated in the corresponding Protestant groups, and contrariwise with those evacuated. The sentiment behind this was made evident again and again in the reasons given by parents for not sending their children away. 62 per cent. of the Catholic parents declared themselves unwilling to part with their children as compared with 35 per cent. of the Protestant.

The figures for the one-child families are specially interesting. It is to be noted, as indicating the special concern of the parents with a single child, that not only is the proportion of those 'onlies' who were allowed to go off comparatively small, but that in the case of the Protestants as many of them were sent off privately as under the official scheme. Private evacuation, it will be seen, is largely confined to families with one or two children.

The conclusions suggested by the Clydebank figures are confirmed by the aggregate figures, and the inverse relation between public and private evacuation brought out even more clearly. The value of  $\chi^2$  is large and the improbability of the generalisations made being based on chance results indefinitely small.

It is to be noted that the tendencies indicated are just the reverse of those in the case of housing. The larger the family represented, the greater the percentage evacuated under the Government scheme: the larger the home, the smaller the percentage. The determining factor is probably economic status. There is a direct correlation between the size of the house and family wellbeing, and an inverse correlation between size of family and family wellbeing. It would seem that the poorer the family, the more ready were the parents to have the children evacuated under the scheme; the better off the family, the more ready were the parents to keep them at home or to evacuate them privately.

The only figures in the age tables which may have significance are the relative percentages of children in the three age-groups who were not evacuated, evacuated under the scheme, and evacuated privately. Consideration of the percentages of the non-evacuated in the aggregate shows clearly that age had made no difference. The one difference which is statistically significant is that between the children in the top age-group who were evacuated privately and the younger children in the same category; and with that goes a difference in percentage in the top age-group in respect of the official evacuation. There seems to be

*The age factor*

Ages	Clydebank						The Three Towns		
	Protestant			Catholic					
	5-7	8-10	11-14	5-7	8-10	11-14	5-7	8-10	11-14
Number									
(a) Not evacuated . . .	77	97	106	38	51	42	125	162	221
(b) Evacuated under scheme . . .	48	62	90	24	31	29	121	140	250
(c) Evacuated privately . . .	22	29	27	7	4	..	31	45	7
Percentage in each of the three evacuation groups . . . (a)	27	35	38	29	39	32	25	32	44
(b)	24	31	45	29	37	35	24	27	49
(c)	28	37	35	64	36	..	37	54	8
Percentage in all three groups (a, b, c)	26	34	40	31	38	31	25	31	43
Percentage in the three age-groups (a)	52	52	48	55	59	59	45	48	46
(b)	33	33	40	35	36	41	44	40	52
(c)	15	15	12	10	5	..	11	13	1

\* Corrected for Clydebank, uncorrected for the three towns.

*The sex factor*

	Clydebank						Clydebank and Glasgow			
	Protestant		Catholic							
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls				
Number										
(a) Not evacuated . . .	114	128	55	75	218	227				
(b) Evacuated under scheme . . .	88	88	46	38	236	210				
(c) Evacuated privately . . .	35	38	4	7	53	57				
Percentage in each of the three evacuation groups . . . (a)	47	53	42	58	49	51				
(b)	50	50	55	45	53	47				
(c)	48	52	36	64	48	52				
Percentage in all three groups (a, b, c) . . .	48	52	47	53	45	55				
Percentage in the two sex-groups . . . (a)	48	51	52	63	43	46				
(b)	37	35	44	32	47	43				
(c)	15	15	4	6	11	10				

\* Corrected for Clydebank, uncorrected for Clydebank and Glasgow.

an increase in the proportion of the oldest children evacuated under the scheme, and a decided decrease in the proportion of this group going off privately.

In view of the defects of the sample at the top and the bottom ages, to which attention has already been drawn, the relative percentages in the evacuation groups have little comparative value.

The percentages of Protestant boys and girls in the Clydebank sample are 48 and 52; of Catholic boys and girls, 47 and 53.

The relative percentages of boys and girls seem to have been affected either by the greater responsiveness of the parents of girls, or by the greater interest of the teachers of girls' classes who filled up the cards. But the general indications of the figures are clear and consistent, as much in the percentages in the sex-groups which are not affected by the relative numbers of the boys and girls for whom there are records as in the evacuation groups which may be affected.

In both sections the proportion of girls not evacuated as well as of girls privately evacuated is rather greater than of the boys; and there is a correspondingly greater proportion of boys evacuated than girls. Further, the disparities between the sexes are greater with Catholics than with Protestants. This is in keeping with the deeper concern about family unity and wellbeing among the Catholics, which appears in other ways in the evacuation situation.

The figures, however, have little statistical value. The standard error of the percentage differences is in all cases very large. It is only the consistency in the results of the different sections which entitles them to some consideration.

#### THE CHILDREN WHO WERE NOT EVACUATED

Of the children registered beforehand, 129, or 25·4 per cent. of those not evacuated, did not go.

The figures are:

88 in one- and two-roomed houses, 41 in larger houses (28·8 per cent. of non-evacuated in the smaller houses, 21·1 per cent. in the larger: the standard error of the percentage difference is large, and the difference not significant).

60 in one- and two-child families, 69 in larger families (19·2 per cent. of the non-evacuated in smaller families, 36·6 per cent. in larger families: the standard error of the percentage difference is 4·1, and the result therefore significant).

40 in the 5-7 age-group, 41 in the 8-10 age-group, 48 in the 11-14 age-group (32·0, 25·3 and 21·6 per cent. respectively: doubtfully significant but showing a definite tendency).

69 boys, 60 girls (30.8 per cent. and 21.1 per cent. respectively. The standard error of the percentage difference is 3.9, and the difference comes near statistical significance).

37 Protestants, 8 Catholics (Clydebank children only) (19.5 per cent. and 7.2 per cent. respectively: standard error of the percentage difference, 3.8: the difference significant).

The proportion of children registered but not allowed to go off on evacuation was greater

- in families where there were more than two children of school age and under;
- in the younger age-groups;
- in the case of boys;
- in the case of Protestant children.

#### REASONS FOR NOT SENDING CHILDREN AWAY<sup>1</sup>

	Clydebank		Glasgow	Dundee
	Protestant	Catholic		
Number in group	190	111	144	64
Parents did not want to part with child . . .	35	62	31	25
Family reasons:				
Mother could not go . . . .	22	23	25	28
Brother/sister could not go . . . .	4	5	3	5
Child did not want to go . . . .	2	1	2	9
Child needed at home . . . .	1	1	2	8
Concern about possible charges . . . .	4	5	6	9
Parents concerned for child:				
Child delicate, etc. . . . .	16	7	5	3
Might not be well cared for . . . .	7	14	7	20
General concern, religious, etc. . . .	4	4	..	..
Parents discount risks . . . .	7	13	24	27
Parents disapprove of scheme . . . .	6	4	3	..
Plans for private evacuation later . . . .	5	2	4	5
Accidental circumstances (illness, etc.) . . .	3	1	3	..

<sup>1</sup> Percentages are given.

It is obvious that it is not possible to demarcate with any degree of accuracy the reasons parents had for keeping their children at home. If we distinguish those cases in which the parents seem to be thinking primarily of themselves and their own interests from those in which the main concern is with the child's wellbeing—comparing the parent-

centred reasons (not wanting to part with the child, family complications, cost) with the child-centred ones (concern for the delicate or difficult child, fear that the child may not be properly cared for)—we may get the impression of parental selfishness. But though some parents were more concerned about themselves than their offspring, whether evacuated or not evacuated, it would be a mistake to draw such a conclusion from the figures. Actually there is a considerable overlapping of reasons, and many of the parents who do not wish to part from their children show that they know quite well what evacuation might mean for them and have a genuine anxiety for their wellbeing. The adult point of view predominates because the parents giving the reasons are adults.

When the figures for the towns are set down side by side, differences among them are more striking than resemblances. Perhaps this is due to differences in conditions. The simplest explanation, for example, of the fact that the percentage of parents in the two Clydebank groups who profess to regard the risks of their home town as not serious enough to make evacuation necessary is 7 and 13, as compared with 24 and 27 per cent. of the parents in Glasgow and Dundee, is the greater sense of the vulnerability of Clydebank.

There must also be a decided difference in conditions between Dundee and the other centres to account for the much higher percentage of family reasons for non-evacuation. Is it connected with the fact that Dundee is a town in which many married women work in the mills, and give their older children, especially their older girls, an earlier and a greater responsibility than elsewhere? That seems to be suggested by the relatively high percentage of cases in which the child had to remain because she was needed at home. (All the children in this category were girls.)

The differences between the Catholic and Protestant sections in Clydebank are worthy of notice. From the figures, taken in conjunction with the comments of the parents, one gets the impression of a different attitude to home life in the two sections. The Catholic view seems simpler and less complicated. The Catholic parents make up their minds whether the children are to go or not, and act accordingly. The Protestant parents are less sure what they want to do, and more ready to change their minds, as has been noted already in the much greater percentage of Protestant children registered who did not go away. Another aspect of this is the closer hold the Catholic parents keep on their children. More frequently than among the Protestants, it is assumed that if for any reason one member of the family cannot go, the others must stay at home so that the family may not be broken up. Occasionally the remark is made that if anything is to happen to the children it is better that they should all share in it. 'If one of us is

going to die,' says one mother, 'I would rather we all died together.' This is what lies behind the striking disparity between the percentages of the two groups in this respect (Catholic, 62 per cent.; Protestant, 35).

## OCCUPATIONS OF THE NON-EVACUATED CHILDREN

Ages	Boys			Girls		
	5-7	8-10	11-14	5-7	8-10	11-14
Number in group	64	68	92	61	94	129
Helping in the house	25	18	38	6	57	87
Playing in the house	36	21	16	38	34	13
Reading	27	44	60	28	45	53
Wandering about streets	2	2	5	2	3	11
Playing with other children	52	85	71	54	82	45
Walks	16	19	61	16	16	39
Cinema	14	31	44	15	23	36
Sewing, handcrafts, etc.	..	..	5	3	9	12
Music, drawing, etc.	2	4	2	2	6	4
Cycling, skating, etc.	2	3	11	2	1	24
Gardening, etc.	2	6	3	2	..	2
Domestic occupations	5	6	5	5	5	7

## REACTION OF THE NON-EVACUATED CHILDREN TO THEIR HOLIDAY

Bored . . . . .	19	18	25	16	13	31
Troublesome, mischievous . . . . .	6	12	11	..	2	14
Health: better . . . . .	19	28	27	12	28	20
worse . . . . .	3	2	2	3	1	4
Behaviour: better . . . . .	5	7	7	3	10	4
worse . . . . .	6	10	9	2	3	2
Anxious to get back to school . . . . .	75	69	61	75	78	65
not anxious . . . . .	5	9	19	3	5	9
Keener about lessons . . . . .	47	34	42	38	30	50
less keen . . . . .	2	4	10	..	4	15

The percentage figures relating to the occupations and attitudes of the children who stayed at home, given in these tables, have but a limited value. The answers on which they are based were made to very general questions and share their vagueness. In the main the differences they indicate are capable of explanation in terms of age and sex.

Among points of special interest are the figures relating to the children's behaviour. These probably give too flattering a picture of the conduct of the non-evacuated child. Even though the weather during the winter months was very good and the children were rarely confined to the house by rain and storm and wintry cold, it is difficult to believe that so few of them were 'troublesome' as the returns suggest.

But evidently the trouble they gave to parents and elders was not of the deep kind that remains in memory. One question, couched vaguely on purpose, asked whether the child had 'got into any considerable trouble at any time.' Actually there were only two bad cases in the west of Scotland children (in one of which the boy had been put on probation) as compared with four cases in the east. Obviously the parents in their replies have not stressed the badness of the bad behaviour. The general impression left on observers with experience of children was that the conduct of those set free from schooling in the early months of evacuation was surprisingly good. It is possible that their morals like their health benefited, for a time at least, by the absence of the usual school restrictions. Were three-quarters of them, by the way, really anxious to get back to school? The parents told the teachers they were, at any rate, and the teachers believed them!

#### THE EVACUATED CHILDREN

We come now to an analysis of the information regarding the evacuated children. The main points of interest here are

- the relations of evacuation and receiving groups;
- the rate of homecoming of the evacuees;
- the conditions affecting return or stay;
- the reasons given by the parents for their return or stay.<sup>1</sup>

We begin by noting some of the more important facts about the evacuation and the receiving groups.

#### *The Evacuation Group*

In our sample 447 of the children evacuated went under the Government scheme: 163 from Glasgow schools, 200 from Clydebank (Protestant) and 84 from Clydebank (Catholic). 110 children were evacuated privately: 21 from Glasgow, 78 from Clydebank (Protestant) and 11 from Clydebank (Catholic).

- (a) Some of the evacuees went with their mothers (with or without brothers and sisters);
- (b) others were billeted with brother(s)/sister(s);
- (c) others went alone.

The following table shows the numbers and percentages in the three types of evacuation group:

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<sup>1</sup> In this part of the analysis the Dundee figures have been omitted in the interest of homogeneity. The Glasgow and Clydebank cases were selected on a 1-in-7 basis over the whole school population, whereas the Dundee cases were drawn from the post-primary classes as a whole and were mainly girls.

Number	Under the Scheme			Private Evacuation		
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(a)	(b)	(c)
Glasgow . . . . .	53	86	24			
Clydebank (Protestant) . . . . .	66	90	44			
Clydebank (Catholic) . . . . .	35	41	8			
Total . . . . .	154	217	76	46	18	46
 Percentage						
Glasgow . . . . .	32	53	15			
Clydebank (Protestant) . . . . .	33	45	22			
Clydebank (Catholic) . . . . .	42	49	10			
Percentage in the three local groups . . . . .	35	49	17	42	15	42

The largest group under the scheme and the smallest among the private evacuees is the brother/sister group: half of the scheme children went with brothers/sisters, as compared with less than a sixth of the private evacuees. The reason is simple. Parents who have to send off their children to unknown hosts do so with greater confidence if their family keeps together, whether the mother goes with them or not, and probably do not send an only child at all. When the children go to stay with relatives, the mothers are more ready to go with them, and if they cannot go themselves they are more willing to let them go unaccompanied; from the point of view of the relative there is a real advantage in having only a single child to look after.

The difference between Protestant and Catholic children is in keeping with what has already been pointed out regarding the closer cohesion of the Catholic family. With the Catholics there is on the one hand a larger percentage of mothers with their families, and on the other a smaller percentage of unaccompanied children.

#### *Frequency of Visitation*

One of the disturbing elements in the evacuation situation was the visits of the parents. It was common, especially in the early weeks, for the mother to come to see her children, upset them with her overcharged emotions, and then bring them away because 'they were unhappy.' (At a later stage it was the child's visits to his own home which were inclined to work the mischief.) The parents varied greatly in the frequency of their visits:

- (a) some went every week;
- (b) some fortnightly;
- (c) some at fairly long intervals;
- (d) some not at all.

In the following table, showing the numbers and percentages for the different periods, only children who had been away for more than a month are included:

Number	Under the Scheme				Private Evacuation			
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
Glasgow . . . .	28	27	52	28				
Clydebank (Protestant) . . . .	59	34	24	22				
Clydebank (Catholic) . . . .	18	8	6	11				
Total . . . .	105	69	82	61	21	16	19	33
Percentage								
Glasgow . . . .	21	20	38	21				
Clydebank (Protestant) . . . .	43	24	17	16				
Clydebank (Catholic) . . . .	42	19	14	26				
Percentage in the three local groups . . . .	33	22	26	19	24	18	21	37

The practice of the parents in the three groups, it will be noted, differed considerably. The parents of the Glasgow children less often paid a weekly visit, and by way of compensation visited more at longer intervals. This is connected with the fact that the children were at a considerable distance from Glasgow, and visitation was less easy than from Clydebank; and, as will be seen later, it partly accounts for the longer average stay of the Glasgow children. Comparing Protestant and Catholic children from Clydebank the main difference is in the larger proportion of the latter who received no visits from their parents at all. A possible explanation is that more of the Catholic mothers stayed away with their children, and made visits unnecessary. This may also explain the even greater difference in the percentage of private evacuees who were not visited. (This difference is statistically significant.)

#### *The Receiving Household*

Distinguishing the receiving households according to social class (with which goes a difference in size of house) there were, broadly speaking, three main types:

- (a) working-class;
- (b) middle-class;
- (c) wealthy.

In addition to these there were other kinds of receiving houses, akin to one or other of the three main types:

- (a1) empty houses; (a2) rented houses;
- (b1) farms;
- (c1) hotels and other institutions.

Life in empty and rented houses, where the mother is in charge and carries on her usual ways, is in the main like that in a working-class home. Farms vary in size and character, but in most cases they were regarded by the parents as middle-class homes. Institutions may be grouped with the wealthy homes by reason of their size and some of the qualities of life that go with size.

The following table shows the numbers and percentages in the different types of receiving households:

Number	Under the Scheme						Private Evacuation							
	(a)	(ax)	(a2)	(b)	(b1)	(c)	(cr)	(a)	(ax)	(a2)	(b)	(b1)	(c)	(cr)
Glasgow . . . . .	83	4	..	24	4	39	9							
Clydebank:														
Protestant . . . . .	59	7	..	63	12	46	13							
Catholic . . . . .	25	5	..	18	1	32	3							
Total . . . . .	167	16	..	105	17	117	25							
Percentage														
Glasgow . . . . .	53	..	..	17	..	29								
Clydebank:														
Protestant . . . . .	33	..	..	37	..	29								
Catholic . . . . .	36	..	..	23	..	42								
Percentage in the three local groups.	41	..	..	27	..	32								
								81	..	..	16	..	3	

The first difference to be noted here is that between the official evacuation and the private. As was to be expected, most of the private evacuees went to homes like their own; large as the percentage of working-class billets in their case is, it probably understates the proportion by reason of an innocent vanity which leads to an over-rating of the social status of friends just above the working-class level.

In the case of the Government evacuees we note that the outstanding percentage figure for Glasgow is that of the working-class group; for Clydebank (Protestant) it is that of the middle-class group; for Clydebank (Catholic) it is the wealthy group. Half of the Glasgow children went to working-class homes, presumably because they were mainly sent to small towns. The Clydebank children were more evenly distributed, but as compared with the Glasgow and the Clydebank (Catholic) children were more frequently housed in middle-class homes, as was to be expected with so many of them sent to rural districts in their own county and the neighbouring county of Argyll. The Clydebank (Catholic) children had their billets in a significantly greater percentage of cases in wealthy homes, because the larger Catholic families could only be housed together in such homes, and seem indeed to have had their evacuation quarters allotted with that in view.

#### *Number in the Billet*

One important feature of the child's new home was the number of his juvenile associates, whether fellow evacuees or the family of the

hostess. The range was between 1 and 60. The following table shows the distribution for the three Clydenebank sections:

Number in Billet	Number			Percentage		
	Protestant	Catholic	Private	Protestant	Catholic	Private
1	11	1	36			
2	52	19	21			
3	35	18	22			
	— 98	— 38	— 79	49	45	88
4	33	15	3			
5	20	10	4			
6	13	6	2			
	— 66	— 31	— 9	33	37	10
7	7	6	2			
8	3	4	..			
9	4	1	..			
	— 14	— 11	— 2	7	13	2
10	2	..	..			
11	10	3	..			
	— 12	— 3	— ..	6	4	..
12+	10	1	..			
	— 10	— 1	— ..	5	1	..

There were practically no large groups in private evacuation. The mode was 1, and few children privately evacuated were in groups larger than 3. With the Government evacuees, on the other hand, there were few singles, and the mode was 2, with a considerable number of children in groups of 3 to 5. One-tenth of the Protestant children were in billets with 10 occupants and over.

#### *Change of Billets*

An important aspect of the adjustment necessary to make evacuation work satisfactorily was the changing of billets when for any reason things were not going well. The following table shows the frequency with which such changes were made, indicating (a) no change, (b) one change, (c) two or more changes:

	Number			Percentage		
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(a)	(b)	(c)
Glasgow . . . . .	120	32	11	74	20	7
Clydebank (Protestant) . . . . .	137	46	17	68	23	8
Clydebank (Catholic) . . . . .	65	16	3	78	19	4
Total . . . . .	322	94	31	72	21	7

About 1 child in 4, it will be seen, was in more than one billet. There was least change in the case of the Catholic children because their speedier return allowed less time for adjustment. Changes in billets

in the case of private evacuees were very rare. When anything went wrong the child generally was brought home; only in two or three cases was a child originally billeted with relatives transferred to a new home under the scheme.

### THE HOMECOMING OF THE EVACUEES

The evacuees, it is sometimes said, 'filtered back' gradually. The figure of speech does not quite describe the manner of their return. It would be nearer the facts to speak of 'waves' of homecoming, in the sense that the movement back periodically reached markedly higher dimensions. There was a peak of this kind at the end of the first week, and another rather smaller at the end of the first month. Then at the end of the second month the imposition of a charge on the parents brought back another crowd. Again, after a comparatively steady period, Christmas brought back still more at the end of four months. From the New Year till Easter there was a definite slowing down of return till the holiday break and the partial re-opening of schools in the home areas led to the homecoming of another lot. The present inquiry was made about the end of April and the beginning of May 1940, and those still away at that time form a group by themselves. There may therefore be distinguished five successive stages in the return of the evacuees: according as the children returned

- I during September,
- II during October,
- III during November and December,
- IV from January to April, or
- V were still away at the beginning of May.

### RETURN OF THE CHILDREN EVACUATED UNDER THE GOVERNMENT SCHEME

	Number					Percentage				
	I	II	III	IV	V	I	II	III	IV	V
Glasgow . . . . .	33	37	42	20	31	20	23	26	12	19
Clydebank (Protestant) .	60	40	48	19	33	30	20	24	10	17
Clydebank (Catholic) .	41	17	19	4	3	49	20	23	5	4
Total . . . . .	134	94	109	43	67	30	21	24	10	15

### RETURN OF THE CHILDREN EVACUATED PRIVATELY

	Number					Percentage				
	I	II	III	IV	V	I	II	III	IV	V
Glasgow . . . . .	3	6	5	3	4	14	29	24	14	19
Clydebank (Protestant) .	12	19	23	11	14	15	24	29	14	18
Clydebank (Catholic) .	3	1	3	3	1	27	9	27	27	9
Total . . . . .	18	26	31	17	19	16	23	28	15	17

It will be noted that just over half of the children evacuated under the Government scheme had returned by the end of the second month, and that three-quarters of them were back by Christmas. This provides a useful standard for later comparisons.

Of the three groups for which details are given in the tables, Glasgow shows a return of 43 per cent. by the end of October and of 69 per cent. by the New Year; Clydebank (Protestant) has percentages almost identical with the aggregate; Clydebank (Catholic) shows half the children home by the end of the first month, 69 per cent. by the end of October and 91 per cent. by Christmas. Why the difference between Glasgow and Clydebank, and between the Protestant and Catholic sections in Clydebank?

So far as the general difference between Glasgow and Clydebank is concerned the explanation is probably to be found in the fact that a very considerable part of the Clydebank evacuation was to adjacent areas of Dunbartonshire easily accessible by bus, whereas the Glasgow children were taken farther afield. It was easy—too easy—for the Clydebank parents to visit (and to disturb) their children, and for the Clydebank children themselves to leave their billets and come home if anything went wrong.

With the Catholic scholars evacuated from Clydebank other factors were involved. The two Catholic schools were unfortunate in the places to which they were sent. The one was scattered over a rather remote country district difficult of access, lacking the amenities of town life, and cut off in large measure from the interest of visits from fathers and friends; the other was billeted in the wealthiest town in the county (probably because it was only in such a town that houses big enough to accommodate large families were readily available), and the clash of social classes produced much discomfort on both sides. The fact that guests and hostesses were of different religious persuasions added to the difficulty.

The second point of note is the slower return of the children evacuated privately to friends and relations. At the end of two months barely 40 per cent. had come back, and whereas more of the Government evacuees returned in the first month than in the second (in the proportion of 3 to 2), it was the other way about with the private evacuees (the proportion being 2 to 3). At the date of the inquiry, however, the percentage of the latter still away was little higher than that of the others. That the differences between the two groups of evacuees are statistically significant is shown by the fact that  $\chi^2$  for the two sets of total figures is 9.48, which for a  $2 \times 5$  grouping gives  $P = .05$ ; that is, the expectation of a relationship like this happening by chance is 5 in 100.

**GENERAL CONDITIONS AFFECTING RETURN OR STAY OF EVACUEES**

We come next to consider the general conditions affecting the return or stay of the evacuees.

*On the Evacuee Side*

1. the number of rooms in the home;
2. the number of children of school age or under in the family;
3. the age of the evacuee;
4. the sex of the evacuee;
5. the character of the evacuation group;
6. frequency of visitation.

*On the Receiving Side*

1. the character of the receiving household;
2. the number in the billet;
3. change of billet.

## I. SIZE OF HOME

(a) One or two rooms

(b) Three or more rooms

	I	II	III	IV	V*	Percentage returned after 2 Months	Percentage still away after 8 Months
<i>Number</i>							
Glasgow							
(a)	25	25	28	13	28	42	24
(b)	8	12	14	7	3	45	7
Clydebank (Protestant)							
(a)	42	29	29	9	23	54	17
(b)	18	11	19	10	10	43	15
Clydebank (Catholic)							
(a)	35	14	12	2	2	75	3
(b)	6	3	7	2	1	45	5
Total							
(a)	102	68	69	24	53	54	17
(b)	32	26	40	19	14	44	11
<i>Private Evacuation</i>							
Total							
(a)	9	14	19	10	12	36	19
(b)	7	13	12	7	7	44	15
<i>Percentages</i>							
(1) of home groups							
(2) of successive returning groups, in totals	I	II	III	IV	V	I	II
(1) (a)	32	22	22	8	17	14	22
(b)	24	20	31	15	11	15	28
(2) (a)	75	72	63	59	79	56	52
(b)	25	28	37	41	21	44	48
						39	41
							38

- \* I. Returned during September.
- II. Returned during October.
- III. Returned during November and December.
- IV. Returned between January and April.
- V. Still away at beginning of May.

Note:  $\chi^2$  for the scheme total = 11.94 ( $P = .02$ )  
           for the private total = .93

## 2. SIZE OF FAMILY

(a) One or two children

(b) Three or more children

Number	Evacuation under the Government Scheme						Percentage returned after 2 Months	Percentage still away after 8 Months
	I	II	III	IV	V*			
<i>Glasgow</i>								
(a)	.	.	16	16	15	7	52	13
(b)	.	.	17	21	27	13	38	23
<i>Clydebank (Protestant)</i>								
(a)	.	.	32	14	23	12	47	17
(b)	.	.	28	26	25	7	52	17
<i>Clydebank (Catholic)</i>								
(a)	.	.	12	5	5	1	74	..
(b)	.	.	29	13	14	3	67	5
<i>Total</i>								
(a)	.	.	60	35	43	20	52	13
(b)	.	.	74	59	66	23	50	16
<i>Private Evacuation</i>								
<i>Total</i>			13	22	26	13	38	20
(a)	.	.	4	5	5	4	..	..
(b)	.	.						

## Percentages

(1) of family groups	Under the Scheme					Privately Evacuated				
	I	II	III	IV	V	I	II	III	IV	V
(2) of successive returning groups, in totals										
(1) (a)	.	.	33	19	24	11	13	14	24	28
(b)	.	.	28	22	25	9	16	22	28	22
(2) (a)	.	.	45	37	39	47	36	76	82	84
(b)	.	.	55	63	61	53	64	24	18	16
										24
										..

See footnote \* to Table 1, Size of Home, p. 98.

Note:  $\chi^2$  for the scheme total = 1.58  
for the private total = 1.12

## 3. AGE

	(a) 5-9					(b) 10-14					Percentage returned after 2 Months	Percentage still away after 8 Months	
	I	II	III	IV	V*								
<i>Number</i>												<i>Evacuation under the Government Scheme</i>	
Glasgow						19	13	27	14	18	35	22	
(a)	.	.	.	.	.							18	
(b)	.	.	.	.	.	14	24	15	6	13	53	18	
Clydebank (Protestant)						31	18	18	6	11	58	13	
(a)	.	.	.	.	.							18	
(b)	.	.	.	.	.	29	22	30	13	22	44		
Clydebank (Catholic)						27	10	5	2	..	84	..	
(a)	.	.	.	.	.						52	8	
(b)	.	.	.	.	.	14	7	14	2	3			
Total						77	41	50	22	29	54	13	
(a)	.	.	.	.	.						48	17	
(b)	.	.	.	.	.	57	53	59	21	38			
<i>Private Evacuation</i>													
Total						13	13	20	6	7	44	12	
(a)	.	.	.	.	.						35	24	
(b)	.	.	.	.	.	5	13	11	11	12			
<i>Percentages</i>													
(1) of age-groups						<i>Under the Scheme</i>					<i>Privately Evacuated</i>		
(2) of successive returning groups, in totals						I	II	III	IV	V	I	II	III
(1) (a)	.	.	.	.	.	35	19	23	10	13	22	22	34
(b)	.	.	.	.	.	25	23	26	9	17	10	25	21
(2) (a)	.	.	.	.	.	57	44	46	51	43	72	50	65
(b)	.	.	.	.	.	43	56	54	49	57	28	50	65
													63

See footnote \* to Table 1, Size of Home, p. 98.

Note:  $\chi^2$  for the scheme total = 7.10 ( $P = .2$ )  
for the private total = 7.32 ( $P = .2$ )

## 4. SEX

Number	I	II	III	IV	V*			Percentage returned after 2 Months	Percentage still away after 8 Months	
						Evacuation under the Government Scheme				
<i>Glasgow</i>										
Boys . . .	10	22	26	14	15		37		18	
Girls . . .	23	15	16	6	16			50	21	
<i>Clydebank (Protestant)</i>										
Boys . . .	31	24	23	11	18		52		17	
Girls . . .	29	16	25	8	15			48	16	
<i>Clydebank (Catholic)</i>										
Boys . . .	21	10	10	3	2		66		4	
Girls . . .	20	7	9	1	1			71	3	
<i>Total</i>										
Boys . . .	62	56	59	28	35		49		15	
Girls . . .	72	38	50	15	32			53	15	
<i>Private Evacuation</i>										
<i>Total</i>										
Boys . . .	12	12	13	8	9		45		17	
Girls . . .	4	15	17	10	10			34	18	
<i>Percentages</i>										
(1) of the sex-groups										
(2) of the successive re- turning groups, in										
totals	I	II	III	IV	V	I	II	III	IV	
(1) Boys . . .	26	23	25	12	15	22	22	24	15	
Girls . . .	35	18	24	7	15	7	27	30	18	
(2) Boys . . .	46	59	54	65	52	75	45	43	44	
Girls . . .	54	41	46	35	48	25	55	57	53	

See footnote \* to Table I, Size of Home, p. 98.

Note:  $\chi^2$  for the scheme total = 6.48 ( $P = .25$ )  
for the private total = 4.66 ( $P = .30$ )

## 5. THE EVACUATION GROUP

(a) Mother and child(ren)

(b) Brother(s)/Sister(s)

(c) Child unaccompanied

	I	II	III	IV	V*	Percentage returned after 2 Months	Percentage still away after 8 Months			
<i>Number</i>										
<i>Evacuation under the Government Scheme</i>										
Glasgow										
(a)	16	12 <sup>7</sup>	17	5	3	53	6			
(b)	10	22	20	12	22	37	26			
(c)	7	3	5	3	6	42	25			
Clydebank (Protestant)										
(a)	28	15	14	3	6	65	9			
(b)	18	21	26	6	19	44	29			
(c)	14	4	8	10	8	41	18			
Clydebank (Catholic)										
(a)	19	8	7	1	..	77	..			
(b)	17	7	11	3	3	59	7			
(c)	5	2	1	..	..	88	..			
Total										
(a)	63	35	38	9	9	64	6			
(b)	45	50	57	21	44	44	20			
(c)	26	9	14	13	14	46	18			
<i>Private Evacuation</i>										
Total										
(a)	7	14	12	6	7	46	15			
(b)	2	2	9	1	4	22	22			
(c)	7	11	10	10	8	39	17			
<i>Percentages</i>										
(1) of the evacuation groups										
	<i>Under the Scheme</i>					<i>Privately Evacuated</i>				
(2) of the successive returning groups, in totals	I	II	III	IV	V	I	II	III	IV	V
(1) (a)	41	23	25	6	6	15	30	26	13	15
(b)	21	23	26	10	20	11	11	50	6	22
(c)	34	12	18	17	18	15	24	22	22	17
(2) (a)	47	37	35	21	13	44	52	39	35	37
(b)	34	53	52	49	66	13	7	29	6	21
(c)	19	10	13	30	21	44	41	32	59	42

See footnote \* to Table 1, Size of Home, p. 98.

Note:  $\chi^2$  for mothers and others in scheme total = 25.47 (P less than .001)  
 for mothers and others in private total = 1.43

## 6. FREQUENCY OF VISITATION

	(a) Weekly	(b) Fortnightly	(c) At longer intervals				(d) Not at all	
			II	III	IV	V*	Percentage returned after 2 Months	Percentage still away after 8 Months
<i>Number</i>								
Glasgow								
(a)	.	.	16	9	..	3	65	12
(b)	.	.	4	11	5	7	28	26
(c)	.	.	7	12	13	20	29	38
(d)	.	.	10	9	3	6	47	21
Clydebank (Protestant)								
(a)	.	.	19	22	10	8	53	14
(b)	.	.	7	12	3	12	45	35
(c)	.	.	5	7	5	7	44	29
(d)	.	.	9	7	1	5	59	23
Clydebank (Catholic)								
(a)	.	.	7	11	..	..	69	..
(b)	.	.	4	1	1	2	75	25
(c)	.	.	2	2	2	..	67	..
(d)	.	.	4	5	1	1	67	9
Total								
(a)	.	.	42	42	10	11	59	10
(b)	.	.	15	24	9	21	44	30
(c)	.	.	14	21	20	27	38	33
(d)	.	.	23	21	5	12	56	20
<i>Private Evacuation</i>								
Total								
(a)	.	.	8	10	3	..	50	..
(b)	.	.	7	1	4	4	55	25
(c)	.	.	..	6	5	8	20	42
(d)	.	.	12	14	5	2	49	6
<i>Percentages</i>								
(1) of visitation times								
(2) of successive returning groups, in totals			II	III	IV	V	II	III
(1) (a)	.	.	27	27	7	7	31	38
(b)	.	.	15	25	9	22	35	5
(c)	.	.	13	19	18	25	..	21
(d)	.	.	26	24	6	14	29	34
(2) (a)	.	.	45	39	23	15	30	32
(b)	.	.	16	22	20	30	26	3
(c)	.	.	15	19	46	38	..	19
(d)	.	.	24	19	11	17	44	45
Under the Scheme							IV	V
Privately Evacuated								

See footnote \* to Table 1, Size of Home, p. 98.

Note: In reckoning frequency of visitation, evacuees away for a month or less are not included. To bring the percentages into line with those in the other tables it has been assumed that those who returned in September were distributed in the same proportions as the rest. The numbers who returned after 2 months were got by adding the actual numbers for October to the estimated numbers for September.

## EVACUATION IN SCOTLAND

## I. THE RECEIVING HOUSEHOLD

(a) Working-class	(a1) Empty house	(a2) Rented house	(b) Better-to-do
(b1) Farm	(c) Wealthy	(c1) Institution	

	I	II	III	IV	V*	Percentage returned after 2 Months	Percentage still away after 8 Months
<i>Number</i>	<i>Evacuation under the Government Scheme</i>						
Glasgow							
(a)	.	.	12	17	24	15	37
(a1)	.	.	1	2	..	1	19
(b)	.	.	4	7	6	1	50
(b1)	.	.	2	1	..	1	25
(c)	.	.	14	7	10	3	50
(c1)	.	.	..	3	2	1	17
Clydebank (Protestant)							
(a)	.	.	14	12	13	7	41
(a1)	.	.	..	1	2	3	1
(b)	.	.	22	10	18	3	45
(b1)	.	.	..	2	3	4	17
(c)	.	.	16	11	12	2	63
(c1)	.	.	7	3	2	1	9
Clydebank (Catholic)							
(a)	.	.	12	6	4	3	..
(a1)	.	.	4	..	1	..	..
(b)	.	.	7	5	5	1	69
(b1)	.	.	..	1	..	..	..
(c)	.	.	16	4	9	..	66
(c1)	.	.	1	2	..	..	9
Total							
(a)	.	.	38	35	41	25	28
(a1)	.	.	5	3	3	3	2
(b)	.	.	33	22	29	5	16
(b1)	.	.	2	4	3	4	4
(c)	.	.	46	22	31	5	13
(c1)	.	.	8	8	4	2	3
<i>Private Evacuation</i>							
Total							
(a)	.	.	15	22	21	11	11
(a2)	.	.	1	1	3	3	2
(b)	.	.	2	2	7	2	3
(b1)	.	.	..	1	..	..	1
(c)	.	.	..	..	..	1	2

*Percentages*

(1) of different receiving groups

*Under the Scheme**Privately Evacuated*

(2) of successive returning groups, in totals

	I	II	III	IV	V	I	II	III	IV	V
(1) (a)	.	.	22	20	23	20	16	18	26	27
(b)	.	.	28	22	26	7	16	11	17	39
(c)	.	.	38	21	25	5	11	..	..	..
(2) (a)	.	.	32	40	40	70	46	89	89	77
(b)	.	.	27	28	29	17	30	11	11	23
(c)	.	.	41	32	31	13	24	..	..	6

See footnote \* to Table I, Size of Home, p. 98.

## 2. NUMBER IN THE BILLET

(a) 1-4      (b) 5-9      (c) Over 9

	I	II	III	IV	V*	Percentage returned after 2 Months	Percentage still away after 8 Months				
<i>Number</i>	<i>Evacuation under the Government Scheme</i>										
Glasgow											
(a)	.	.	19	26	29	13	20				
(b)	.	.	8	9	11	6	9				
(c)	.	.	6	2	2	1	2				
Clydebank (Protestant)	.										
(a)	.	.	39	21	34	16	21				
(b)	.	.	12	12	9	4	9				
(c)	.	.	8	7	5	..	2				
Clydebank (Catholic)	.										
(a)	.	.	24	12	11	3	3				
(b)	.	.	13	5	8	1	..				
(c)	.	.	4	..	..	..	..				
Total											
(a)	.	.	82	59	74	32	44				
(b)	.	.	33	26	28	11	18				
(c)	.	.	18	9	7	1	4				
<i>Private Evacuation</i>											
Total											
(a)	.	.	18	23	28	16	19				
(b)	.	.	..	3	3	1	..				
(c)	.	.	..	..	..	..	..				
<i>Percentages</i>											
(1) of the three types of billet	<i>Under the Scheme</i>						<i>Privately Evacuated</i>				
(2) of successive returning groups, in totals	I	II	III	IV	V	I	II	III	IV	V	
(1) (a)	.	.	28	20	25	11	15	17	22	27	15
(b)	.	.	28	22	24	10	16	..	43	43	14
(c)	.	.	46	23	18	3	10	..	..	..	..
(2) (a)	.	.	62	62	68	73	67				
(b)	.	.	25	28	26	25	27				
(c)	.	.	14	10	6	2	6				

See footnote \* to Table 1, Size of Home, p. 98.

Note:  $\chi^2$  for billets up to 9 and larger billets in the scheme = 6.33 ( $P=0.25$ ).

## 3. CHANGE OF BILLET

(a) No change      (b) One or more changes

Number	Evacuation Under the Government Scheme					Percentage returned after 2 Months	Percentage still away after 8 Months
	I	II	III	IV	V *		
Glasgow							
(a)	.	.	31	31	28	15	15
(b)	.	.	2	6	14	5	16
Clydebank (Protestant)							
(a)	.	.	51	28	29	10	19
(b)	.	.	9	12	19	9	14
Clydebank (Catholic)							
(a)	.	.	36	14	11	2	2
(b)	.	.	5	3	8	2	1
Total							
(a)	.	.	118	73	68	27	36
(b)	.	.	16	21	41	16	31

Percentages of the Total		Under the Scheme					Privately Evacuated				
(1) in respect of no change and change	(2) in the successive returning groups	I	II	III	IV	V	I	II	III	IV	V
(1) (a)	.	37	23	21	8	11					No change
(b)	.	13	17	33	13	25					
(2) (a)	.	88	78	62	63	53					
(b)	.	12	22	38	37	47					

See footnote \* to Table 1, Size of Home, p. 98.

Before proceeding to discuss the implications of the tables it is necessary to point out that their statistical significance is not generally on a high level. The standard error of the difference of the percentages is in most cases large compared with the percentage differences themselves; and except in two or three cases the value of  $\chi^2$  is too small to yield a probability value much above chance results. And yet the figures have quite substantial value as indicating definite tendencies, even when they fall short by the ordinary statistical criteria. It is generally possible to get a coherent and intelligible picture of the facts from a comparative study of the three sets of cases and the aggregate of them.

For the purposes of comparison the percentage of children evacuated under the scheme and by private evacuation who had returned by the end of the second month, and the percentage still away at the end of eight months, are brought together. From these and from the distribution of the percentages for the five successive periods, it can be seen in a broad fashion how the homecoming of the evacuees was affected by the several conditions.

#### GENERAL CONDITIONS ON THE EVACUEE SIDE

	Government Scheme		Private Evacuation	
	Percentage returned at 2 Months	Percentage away at 8 Months	Percentage returned at 2 Months	Percentage away at 8 Months
1. Smaller house . . .	54	17	36	19
Larger house . . .	44	11	44	15
2. Smaller family . . .	52	13	38	20
Larger family . . .	50	16	50	..
3. Older children . . .	48	17	35	24
Younger children . . .	54	13	44	12
4. Female . . .	53	15	34	18
Male . . .	49	15	45	17
5. Child with brother/sister . . .	44	20	22	22
Child unaccompanied . . .	46	18	39	17
Child with mother . . .	64	6	46	15
6. Child visited at fairly long intervals	33	33	20	42
Visited fortnightly . . .	44	30	55	25
Child not visited . . .	56	20	49	6
Child visited weekly . . .	59	10	50	..

## GENERAL CONDITIONS ON THE RECEIVING SIDE

	<i>Government Scheme</i>		<i>Private Evacuation</i>	
	Percentage returned at 2 Months	Percentage away at 8 Months	Percentage returned at 2 Months	Percentage away at 8 Months
1. Working-class household	42	16	43	..
Better-class household	50	16	28	..
Large household	59	11	..	..
2. 1-4 children in billet	48	15	39	15
5-9 children in billet	51	14	43	..
Over 9 in billet	69	10	..	..
3. Change of billet	30	25	..	..
No change	56	11	..	..

To appreciate the significance of these tables it is to be noted that 51 per cent. of the children evacuated under the Government scheme had returned by the end of the second month, as compared with 39 per cent. of the private evacuees, and that 15 per cent. of the scheme children were still away at the beginning of May as compared with 19 per cent. of the others; the former a significant difference, the latter not significant but consistent with the former.

Consider first the general conditions on the evacuee side:

1. *Size of Home:* Children in the larger homes, it will be remembered, were less ready to go on evacuation than those in the smaller, and the percentage of private evacuation among them was greater. Those from the larger homes who were evacuated under the scheme, however, stayed longer away than the others: but curiously enough the proportion of them still away after Easter was not so great. In contrast with the Government evacuees, the private evacuees from small houses were superior in staying power throughout. The percentage of return after two months for the larger-house evacuees privately evacuated was the same as for the Government evacuees of similar standing.

2. *Size of Family:* Children from small families were on the whole more inclined to come home than children in bigger families, doubtless because they were more dependent on the parents, or it may be because the parents missed them more. The former explanation is suggested by the fact that children privately evacuated (over 80 per cent. of whom come from one- and two-child families) stayed away longer than the other private evacuees. A family of one or two evacuated to relatives—but not one of three or more—generally found it easy to settle down; its hosts were familiar people, and the conditions of life probably much like those of the home from which the child or children had come.

3. *Age:* In both groups of evacuees, the older children stayed away

rather longer on the average than the younger, and more of them (proportionately) were away at the close of the inquiry.

4. *Sex:* The sex differences are small and unimportant. The boys evacuated under the scheme stayed away a little longer than the girls, and the girls evacuated privately stayed away a little longer than the boys.

5. *The Evacuation Group:* The differences connected with the composition of the evacuation group are statistically significant. In both lots of evacuees the presence of the mother in the billet tended to cause a substantial reduction in the length of stay, and the child accompanied by brother(s) and/or sister(s) proved the most stable evacuee. In the case of evacuation under the scheme, the unaccompanied child was almost as likely to stay as the child accompanied by other juveniles of the same family. In the case of private evacuation, on the other hand, the unaccompanied child was more likely to return than the child with brother or sister, almost as likely, indeed, as the child with his mother.

6. The percentage differences for *frequency of visitation*—statistically significant—are striking. The children who tended to stay longest were those whose parents visited them at fairly long intervals. Next most settled were those visited once a fortnight. Those not visited at all and those visited once a week—a strange collocation—made the worst showing. In the case of children privately evacuated the advantage of infrequent visits is specially noteworthy. The moral would seem to be that children who have to live among strangers are best left to settle down in their new homes, free from the disturbing effect of frequent parental visits, but that a sense of continuing interest on the part of the parents, shown in occasional visits, is necessary for a happy settlement.

Passing to the general conditions on the receiving side: it is to be noted, in the first place, that the number of children billeted together did not seem to be of special consequence from the point of view of stability. While the tendency is for a proportionately longer stay in smaller billets, the length of stay made when there were 4 children or fewer in a billet was not much greater than when there were from 5 to 9. But the larger billets with 10 or more children housed together were less effective in holding the children than those with less than 10. (It should be added that none of the institutions, etc. to which large numbers of Dunbartonshire children were assigned were hostels specially organised for evacuees under expert management.) In the second place—as might be expected—where an organised effort was made to secure improved adjustment by change of quarters when billets were unsatisfactory, there tended to be an extension of the period of stay. The percentage differences between the evacuation period of the

children who had only been in a single billet and of those who had been in two or three is statistically significant. In the third place, the working-class households in which presumably most of the children met familiar conditions proved superior to middle-class and wealthy households in the case of the children evacuated under the scheme. In private evacuation, it was the better-class households with their greater accommodation and their ampler resources which tended to keep the evacuees longer.

#### RESPONSIBILITY FOR RETURN

*Was it the child who wanted back: or the parents who wanted the child back: or the householder who wanted the child away?*

It was not simply because the individual child was young, or lived in a one-roomed house, or belonged to a larger family that he came back from the receiving area at any particular time. Such circumstances obviously had some effect on the decision to return, as the mass figures show. But in every case there was a personal judgment involved. Somebody decided that the child should return or should stay. Parent, or child, or householder, or some combination of them, willed the return or the stay. It was to find out the part played by the three persons involved in the transaction that the question about wanting back was put to the parents. Was the prime mover the child? Or the parent? Or the householder?

It is not really so simple a question as the form in which it is put suggests. In the first place, the division of responsibility is not always clearly defined. When a boy threatens to run away if he is not allowed to go home, or a girl goes on crying for her mother, or a child is ill and has to be brought home for treatment, the case is straightforward. But if the mother says—as one did—‘We missed each other badly,’ and brings home the child, or if the householder without actually refusing to keep the child gives the impression to the parents that he is unwelcome and they decide to bring him back, it is not one party that is responsible for the homecoming, but two, or even, it may be, three. Actually it is possible, in most cases, to distinguish the one of the three mainly active in the decision; and in the small number of cases where it is not, there is no harm statistically in putting the case in two or even three categories.

In the second place, there is always an element of doubt whether the answer of the parent is not distorted—as modern psychology is inclined to say all rational judgments are distorted—by unconscious motives. The mother who says, ‘The child missed me,’ may be concealing (from herself as well as from others) that it was she who missed the child so badly that she had to bring him home; or the parent who is rather ashamed of having acted on impulse in terminating the child’s stay may put the blame on the householder. To this doubt there is a twofold

answer. The first is that, over all, the recorded answers of the parents give the impression of straightforwardness; it is surprising, for example, how rare are criticisms and condemnations of the householders who were the children's hosts. Most of the answers given seem reasonably close to the facts. In the second place, it is generally possible to get behind the actual answer given by the parent to the query, either by studying the answers to other queries, or with the help of the comments of the recording teacher.

## RESPONSIBILITY FOR RETURN: CHILD, PARENT, HOUSEHOLDER

(a) Child      (b) Parent      (c) Householder

	I	II	III	IV*	Percentage return after 2 Months	Percentage return later
<i>Number</i>	<i>Evacuation under the Government Scheme</i>					
Glasgow						
(a)	.	.	6	8	7	20
(b)	.	.	24	22	12	66
(c)	.	.	3	7	1	14
Clydebank (Protestant)						
(a)	.	.	17	10	12	27
(b)	.	.	36	26	23	62
(c)	.	.	7	4	13	8
Clydebank (Catholic)						
(a)	.	.	14	3	6	29
(b)	.	.	24	12	11	62
(c)	.	.	3	2	2	9
Total						
(a)	.	.	37	21	13	25
(b)	.	.	84	60	61	63
(c)	.	.	13	13	21	10
	<i>Private Evacuation</i>					
Total						
(a)	.	.	5	7	9	6
(b)	.	.	9	18	13	8
(c)	.	.	2	2	9	3

*Percentages*

	<i>Under the Scheme</i>				<i>Privately Evacuated</i>			
	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV
(1) of the three groups of people responsible for return								
(2) of the successive returning groups, in totals								
(1) (a) . . . . .	38	22	27	13	19	26	33	22
(b) . . . . .	37	27	27	9	19	37	27	17
(c) . . . . .	23	23	37	18	12	13	56	19
(2) (a) . . . . .	28	22	24	30	31	26	29	35
(b) . . . . .	63	64	57	47	56	67	42	47
(c) . . . . .	10	14	19	23	13	7	29	18

\* I. Returned during September.

II. Returned during October.

III. Returned during November and December.

IV. Returned between January and April.

As was to be expected, the parents, on whose decision the return of the child in most cases depended, were the people who generally took action, and they were therefore most frequently responsible for the child's homecoming. Nearly two-thirds of the children who came home during the first two months were brought by their parents. In the succeeding six months the percentage figure for parental responsibility fell to 54 among the Government evacuees, and 44 among the private evacuees, and the percentage of cases in which the householder wanted the child away rose from 11 to 20 for the Government evacuees, and from 9 to 25 for the others. The proportion of cases in which the child's wishes were the determining factor remained fairly steady throughout.

The table of percentages for the successive returning groups, giving the percentage of return for the children in the first month, the second month, the third and fourth months up to Christmas and from the New Year till the end of April, shows the course of events in interesting detail. The change in the reactions of parents, children and householders is quite evident. The parents as a group gradually become less eager to have the children back and the householders more, while the children have their maximum phases in the first month and after the New Year.

The next two tables show the relation of the action of parents, children and householders (*a*) to the composition of the evacuation group, and (*b*) to the receiving group.

The broad view suggested by the figures relating to the Government evacuees is that

when the mother accompanies the children, the parents in 4 cases out of 5 are responsible for the return of the children;  
with the brother/sister group the householder is more likely to wish the children away than in the other situations;  
in the absence of the mother, the children's wishes acquire a greater importance, accounting in the case of the unaccompanied children for half of the returns.

Other points of note are: the larger part played by the Glasgow parents in all three types of evacuation group than that played by the Clydebank parents (perhaps because with the children more widely scattered, contact was harder to maintain and misunderstandings more difficult to remove), and the relatively larger proportion of cases in which the householders wanted to get rid of unaccompanied Catholic children.

**RELATION OF RETURNS TO CHILD, PARENTS, HOUSEHOLDER, AND  
THE EVACUATION GROUP**

	(a) Mother/Family			(b) Brother(s)/Sister(s)			(c) Unaccompanied Child					
				Glasgow			Clydebank (Protestant)			Clydebank (Catholic)		
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(a)	(b)	(c)
<i>Number</i>	<i>Under the Government Scheme</i>											
Children . . . . .	6	16	6	5	19	20	3	17	4	14	52	30
Parents . . . . .	38	36	11	51	28	12	31	16	2	20	80	25
Householders . . . . .	5	11	1	4	24	4	1	5	2	10	40	7
<i>Percentages</i>												
of the three evacuation groups												
Children . . . . .	12	25	33	8	27	55	9	45	50	10	30	49
Parents . . . . .	78	57	61	85	39	33	89	42	25	83	47	40
Householders . . . . .	10	18	6	7	34	11	3	13	25	7	23	11
<i>Number</i>	<i>Private Evacuation</i>											
Children . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	6	17
Parents . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	31	5	12
Householders . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	2	8
<i>Percentages</i>												
of the three evacuation groups												
Children . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	46	46
Parents . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	76	39	32
Householders . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	15	22

**RELATION OF RETURNS TO CHILD, PARENTS, HOUSEHOLDER, AND  
THE RECEIVING GROUP**

	(a) Working-class			(b) Better-to-do			(c) Wealthy					
				Glasgow			Clydebank (Protestant)			Clydebank (Catholic)		
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(a)	(b)	(c)
<i>Number</i>	<i>Under the Government Scheme</i>											
Children . . . . .	16	5	8	14	19	10	5	5	14	35	29	32
Parents . . . . .	44	13	28	23	30	37	21	13	15	88	56	80
Householders . . . . .	10	4	3	15	13	4	4	1	3	29	18	10
<i>Percentages</i>												
of the three receiving groups												
Children . . . . .	23	23	20	27	31	20	17	26	44	23	28	26
Parents . . . . .	63	59	72	44	48	72	70	68	47	58	54	65
Householders . . . . .	14	18	8	29	21	8	13	5	9	19	18	8
<i>Number</i>	<i>Private Evacuation</i>											
Children . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22	3	2
Parents . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	44	3	1
Householders . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	8	..
<i>Percentages</i>												
of the three receiving groups												
Children . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	21	..
Parents . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	60	21	..
Householders . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	57	..

It will be seen that, over all, the reactions of children, parents and householders are not greatly affected by the composition of the receiving group. But there is one interesting exception, indicated by the relatively small percentage of cases in which the wealthy section of householders wanted to get rid of the children, as compared with working-class and middle-class hostesses. This is probably connected with their ampler accommodation, but it also gives indication of the good will and public spirit shown by many people with large houses.

In this connection the general reaction of the evacuees and their parents (practically all working-class people) to householders of different social classes deserves attention. The Protestant children, speaking broadly, responded in much the same way to their hosts of all classes, whereas the Catholic children got on best when billeted in working-class households and least well in wealthy households. Protestant parents had least difficulty in their dealings with the working-class families who looked after their children and most difficulty in their dealings with wealthy people. Catholic parents, on the other hand, got on better with the wealthy hosts than with those of the working and middle classes. In this rather difficult relationship it was the working-class evacuation group and the middle-class householders that found mutual adjustment most difficult.

It will be seen from the next table that of the Clydebank evacuees who came home, the children themselves were mainly responsible in 28 per cent. of the cases, the parents mainly responsible in 56 per cent., and the householders in 16 per cent.

*Children:* The reasons for return where the children are responsible fall into three groups: the child was lonely (or became lonely) and/or missed the parents, the child found adjustment to the people and conditions of his new life too difficult, the child fell ill and had to be brought home.

*Parents:* The reasons given by the parents are in the main those given by the other group of parents who kept their children at home: that they missed the children, that they did not think them properly treated, that the mother wanted home or was wanted at home, that the costs involved imposed too heavy a burden, etc. In addition to these reasons there were rumours about the re-opening of schools, which led parents, anxious about their family's education, to bring them home, generally to find that the schools were not yet re-opened or were only partially active. The changing of billets again figures among the provocations to return, especially in the later months. Among the Catholics, religious difficulties were the cause of some of the children being withdrawn; but considering the inevitable conflict in the ways of life on both sides when the children of Catholic labourers were boarded with Protestant householders of a different social class, the

number of such cases was surprisingly few; actually, as will be seen later, the percentage of cases in which the householder was held responsible by the parents for the return of the child was decidedly smaller than with Protestants or with private evacuees. If there is any general conclusion to be drawn from the data on the reasons for return, indeed, it is that not only religious difficulties but difficulties of any kind, including bed-wetting and verminous condition, were much less serious than the current complaints generally suggested. On the side of the hostesses, there was a great deal of good human sympathy and helpfulness, and on the side of their guests in a large proportion of cases a reasonable standard of behaviour.

REASONS FOR THE RETURN OF THE EVACUEES ACCORDING AS IT WAS  
CHILD, PARENT, OR HOUSEHOLDER WHO WAS MAINLY RESPONSIBLE

(Clydebank Children)

		Number	Percentage
	<i>Child (90)</i>		
Illness of the child . . . . .	17	19	
Child missed parents. . . . .	30	33	
Child felt lonely, etc. . . . .	30	33	
Child disliked food, etc. . . . .	8	9	
Child had difficulties of adjustment with people . . . . .	14	16	
Child missed town life . . . . .	5	6	
Emotional upsets (frights, etc.) . . . . .	4	4	

*Parent (181)*

Parents missed child . . . . .	24	13
Child too far away for visits . . . . .	9	5
Parents thought child not cared for properly . . . . .	18	10
Parents dissatisfied with billet . . . . .	12	7
Mother wished to get home . . . . .	19	10
Mother needed at home (illness, care of father) . . . . .	23	13
Family complications . . . . .	17	9
Religious difficulties (Catholics) . . . . .	11	6
Schools re-opening . . . . .	10	6
Costs too heavy . . . . .	54	30
Miscellaneous (change of billets, etc.) . . . . .	14	8

*Householder (51)*

Illness of householder (or family) . . . . .	12	23
Illness of child . . . . .	7	14
Changes in householder's arrangements . . . . .	10	20
Evacuees found burdensome, etc. . . . .	23	45
Miscellaneous (clashes, not enough paid) . . . . .	5	10

One item calling for special comment is that of costs found excessive. As will be seen, nearly a third of the parents voiced this complaint. There were in all 54 Clydebank parents who gave this as a reason for bringing back their children: 22 Protestants, 20 Catholics, 12 (Protestant and Catholic) who had evacuated their children privately.

*Householders.*: In the case of the householders the reasons given are not the householders' own but those assigned to them by the parents. So far as they can be regarded as trustworthy, they suggest two main causes of difficulty in the relations of hostess and evacuee over a period: that sooner or later the householder found the care of other people's children too burdensome and wanted her home to herself, and apart from that, that illness—of herself, of her own family, or of the child—made it necessary to send the child home.

#### SUMMARY<sup>1</sup>

1. The findings in the present inquiry are based primarily on a 1-in-10 sample of the entire school population of Clydebank, a Scottish burgh of 46,000 inhabitants, almost entirely working-class in character.
2. In Clydebank just over a third of the children were evacuated under the Government scheme. 50 per cent. of the Protestant children were not evacuated, 36 per cent. were evacuated under the scheme, and 14 per cent. evacuated privately, as compared with 58 per cent. of the Catholic children not evacuated, 37 per cent. evacuated under the scheme, and 4 per cent. evacuated privately.
3. For comparison, returns were got from 4 Glasgow schools and from a Dundee school, of like social class; the former representative of the whole school population, the latter of certain post-primary classes. While there are many features in common in the three groups of schools, there are certain differences reflecting differences in social background (for example, between the shipyard workers of Clydebank and the jute workers of Dundee), as well as differences in the districts to which the children were evacuated.
4. Just over half the Clydebank and Glasgow children had returned home by the end of two months, and three-quarters by the end of four months (Christmas-time). The average stay of the Glasgow children was rather longer than that of Clydebank (Protestant), and the latter decidedly longer than that of Clydebank (Catholic). Half of the Catholic children were back by the end of the first month, and nine-tenths of them back by Christmas.
5. Grouping the children according to the number of rooms in the

<sup>1</sup> Statistically significant findings are given in italics. Other statements, in ordinary type, find justification in the concurrence of results from different sources and in consistent series of percentages.

home (1, 2, 3, 4+), the more rooms in the home the fewer children proportionately were evacuated under the scheme, and the longer was the stay of those evacuated.

In contrast, the more rooms in the home the larger the percentage of private evacuees and the shorter the period of evacuation.

6. Grouping the children according to the number of children in the families represented (from 1 to 5+), the larger the family the greater the proportion of evacuees under the scheme. The members of the larger families tended to stay longer away.

In contrast, the smaller the family the greater the percentage of the private evacuees, and the shorter the period of evacuation. Few private evacuees came from 3-child families and practically none from families with more than three children. With Catholics, a greater proportion of the children in larger families were not evacuated than in the Protestant section.

7. The percentage of children not evacuated is much the same in all the age-groups (5-7, 8-10, 11-14). Proportionately rather more of the oldest group were evacuated and these tended to stay away rather longer as a group.

Very few of the oldest children were evacuated privately, but those who were tended to stay away longer than the younger children (as happened also under the scheme).

8. Rather a larger proportion of boys than of girls went off under the scheme, especially in the case of the Catholic children, and the boys tended to stay away rather longer than the girls. The return of the girls was specially marked in the first month.

In contrast, boys and girls were evacuated privately in equal proportions, but girls tended to stay away longer than the boys. The return of the boys from private evacuation was specially marked in the first month.

9. The most common evacuation group under the scheme was that of brother(s)/sister(s) without mother, the least common unaccompanied children. Over all, the mother-with-family group made the shortest stay, except in the case of the Catholics, with whom the unaccompanied child made the shortest stay.

In contrast, with the private evacuees the brother(s)/sister(s) group occurred least frequently and stayed away longer.

10. The evacuees, both under the scheme and when privately evacuated, were most ready to stay away when visited by their parents at fairly long intervals: rather less ready when visited fortnightly. Weekly visits tended to be most upsetting in respect of stay, and no visits at all only less so. Children too far away to be visited tended to return more readily than those nearer home.

*One-third of the private evacuees were not visited at all.*

11. The percentage of working-class, middle-class, and wealthy households receiving the official evacuees was 41, 27, 32. The working-class homes held their young guests best: the wealthy homes (including institutions) were least successful in this respect.

81 per cent. of the private evacuees went to working-class homes; but those who went to middle-class homes tended to stay longer.

12. The fewer the children in a billet under the scheme, the longer tended to be the period of stay. Billets with over 10 children were least satisfactory in this respect.

13. Just over a quarter of the children under the scheme were in more than one billet. *Children whose billets had been changed tended to stay longer.*

There was very little changing of billets among the private evacuees.

14. Of the Government evacuees who returned, 63 per cent. were brought home by their parents in the first two months, and 44 per cent. in the later months. During the same period the percentage of those sent home by the householders was 9 and 25 respectively. The percentage of the children who returned on their own initiative was much the same in both periods.

There was no significant difference in this respect between Government and private evacuation.

15. So far as the evacuation group under the scheme was concerned:

when the mother was with the children, the parents were responsible for the homecoming of the children in 4 cases out of 5;  
with the brother(s)/sister(s) group, the householder was more likely to wish the children away than in the other situations;  
in the absence of the mother, the children's own wishes were more important, accounting for half of the returns in the case of unaccompanied children.

With the private evacuees the householders (generally relatives) were more often responsible for the return of the children than under the scheme.

16. The composition of the receiving group did not greatly affect the behaviour of the children, parents, and householders in the matter of return. The large households were notably tolerant.

17. A third of the children who wished to get home did so because they felt lonely and missed their parents: another third were dissatisfied with food, etc., or did not get on with people; a fifth came home ill.

A third of the parents who brought their children home did so because they found the costs too heavy. Rather more than a third missed the child, did not think him properly cared for, etc., and almost as many brought him back because the mother wanted back herself or was needed at home.

Nearly half of the householders who were responsible for the home-going of the child found the evacuees burdensome, and in about a quarter of the cases the householder or some member of her family had been ill.

#### CONCLUSION

The picture of evacuation which emerges from the information supplied by the parents and from their comments on the situation is very different from that obtained from contemporary newspaper accounts, or from the complaints of local householders. The most striking fact about it is perhaps the absence of the emotional atmosphere in which the difficulties that arose were discussed at the time of their occurrence.

In the nature of the case it is a one-sided account. It represents the cumulative reactions of the parents modified by transmission through the teachers' record. For that reason there is little criticism of the shortcomings of the children, or of the parents themselves. Occasionally there is confession of shortsighted haste in bringing the children back, but generally when asked if they ever wanted the children back in the safety of the receiving areas the parents' answer is, 'No.' The matter of verminous condition or of bed-wetting is scarcely mentioned, and then in a rather curious way. The one reference to vermin is in the case of a child whose mother found the head in a dirty condition and brought her home because of this evidence of neglect. The fact that a child was a bed-wetter is given in three cases as a reason for not sending the child away at all, and in two cases for bringing the child home. 'I was just ashamed,' said one mother, 'and though the lady would have kept him, I did not want to give her bother.'

On the other hand, if little is said by way of self-criticism, there is only occasional complaint regarding the householders and what there is is rarely querulous. Only once in a while does one get the impression that the parent is seeking to excuse herself by blaming the hostess. The difficulties that led to the homecoming of the evacuee are usually stated dispassionately and sometimes with a fairminded recognition of the other side of the case. The explicit statements of gratitude are not indeed so frequent as the complaints but they go some way to balancing them. Criticism of greater or less gravity was passed on the conduct of the householders in 57 out of 372 Clydebank cases, as against explicit approval and appreciation in 45. In view of the general impression that there was greatest difficulty in adjustment where Catholic children were billeted on Protestant families, it is worth adding that the percentage of both complaints and appreciations was about the same for Protestant and Catholic evacuees. Only in 5 cases out of 295 was there complaint of an anti-Catholic attitude, and this

was counterbalanced by the appreciation some Catholic parents expressed of the kindness of Protestant hosts.

In the course of the inquiry more attention was paid to the ascertainment of facts than to the practical issues involved, but the facts ascertained have obviously many practical bearings, and this section may fittingly conclude by a summary indication of some of the more important of these with special reference to the parents' point of view.

The outstanding fact emerging from the inquiry is the obvious but often ignored one that the first evacuation largely failed to achieve its purpose. What happened in Clydebank happened with local variations throughout the kingdom. On the day of departure some 3,400 children left Clydebank, and there remained behind in a town that was not merely vulnerable but also very conscious of its vulnerability over 4,000 children. Later in the year 600 more children were evacuated, but even then the number left to roam the streets exceeded the number evacuated at any time. That was bad enough; but there was worse to follow. By the end of two months half the evacuees were home again, and by Christmas, two months later, another quarter had returned. Then more gradually the remainder still away drifted homeward and by the end of a year only 300 or so out of the original 4,000 remained. When Clydebank was devastated by two nights' concentrated bombing and burning in March 1941 there were over 7,000 school children in the town. The evacuation scheme, meant to protect the children, had not protected.

Who was responsible for the failure? The Government Department which planned and administered the scheme? The evacuation officers carrying through the local arrangements? The householders who evaded their obligations, or, having undertaken them, grew weary of welldoing? The parents who missed their children, and for other reasons, good or bad, brought them home to danger? Even if it were desirable to find an answer to these questions, the data obtained in the present inquiry cannot supply it. But they may perhaps suggest an answer to the more important question whether even under the best human conditions a scheme of voluntary evacuation depending in the main on domestic billeting was not foredoomed to failure; and whether, if the idea of wholesale evacuation be abandoned, it might not be possible to make modifications in the scheme that would ensure a greater success than was achieved in this first evacuation.

Let us begin with the fact that half of the children were kept at home, and that it was not the improvident parents but the parents most concerned about their children (those, for example, with the small families and the larger houses) who did so. Here plainly was an attitude of mind that augured ill for a scheme depending for its success on the good will of the parents. What was behind it? Not merely a shrinking

from unfamiliar conditions, or the shortsighted dislike of over-fond parents to be parted from their children. Motives were mixed, no doubt, as the statements of the parents show, but serious concern for the wellbeing of the children was evident in the prevailing uneasiness. They were being asked to send off their dearest treasures into the unknown with little or no assurance that they would be properly cared for; and many of them refused to take the risk.

If things had gone well with the children first evacuated the scheme might still have been saved. But the reports of the parents who brought back their children in the first month or two confirmed the apprehensions of those who had not sent theirs off. The reasons given for the return of the children, indeed, were much the same as those given for non-evacuation; and they were strong enough to deter most parents from further participation, in spite of all exhortations and urging.

Here then was the main reason for the failure of evacuation. It did not take account of human nature in the parents. They were asked to have their children committed for an indefinite period to the care of strangers whom they had never seen. That was asking a good deal; more, indeed, than the ordinary parent was willing to allow. When for any reason there was a lack of confidence in the evacuation arrangements, as sometimes happened, failure was inevitable.

But the difficulties were not all on the side of the parents. The billeting system encountered very considerable resistance in the reception areas. While many householders opened their homes willingly to the evacuees, especially at the beginning, evasion of the obligation to accommodate evacuated children was common. In the nature of the case there is no evidence of this in the information supplied by the parents. On the contrary, the evidence indicates a great amount of good will and human kindness on the part of those who gave hospitality to the children, even when it meant a considerable disturbance of their own home life. As a rule it was not the householders but the children or their parents who were responsible for the homegoing. It was only when the arrangement went on for months and became a burden greater than could well be borne that the householders sought ease and wanted rid of the children. Once again the evacuation scheme had come up against human nature. No more than the parents were the householders willing to go on indefinitely. Too much was being asked of them too. Evacuation on these terms was bound to fail.

Premising this, let us now consider what practical conclusions follow, and in particular what light the data of our inquiry regarding the parental point of view throw on the problems.

The first conclusion is that it is impossible to obtain protection for all the children or even for any considerable proportion of them, for the

entire period of danger, by a voluntary scheme of evacuation, based on domestic billeting. The majority of the parents will only let their children be evacuated, and the majority of householders in the safe areas will only welcome them, for a limited period, two or three months at most. Whatever is done in this way, it is almost certain that in the hour of greatest danger most of the children will be at home. That being so, the pretence of a general evacuation of the children for the duration of the war should be abandoned.

This raises the question whether it might not be a good thing to have evacuation made compulsory, either on all parents, or at least on those coming under the scheme. The information provided by the inquiry gives no encouragement to such a drastic measure. Even if parents are willing to have their children removed by the Government from certain regions in which the danger of bombing is great and constant, they would put up such resistance to a forced separation from their children under conditions of less imminent danger as would make compulsion unworkable. It would be more realistic to accept the fact that whatever happens most of the children will stay at home. Better protection for them can only be got by better protection for their homes.

Acceptance does not mean, however, that the presence of the children in the vulnerable areas is to be regarded as satisfactory. It is certainly not. The idea of dispersion on which the evacuation scheme rested is essentially right; and so far as it is practicable the effort must continue to be made to disperse as many of them as possible. The experience of the first evacuation and the experiments made in its course indicate various ways in which many children could be scattered over the countryside into comparative safety, even with the abandonment of the ambitious plan of a comprehensive evacuation and of the compulsory billeting which it entails. Still thinking mainly from the parental angle, we note some of these:

- (a) Parents willing to have their children evacuated should be helped and encouraged by a continuance of Government subsidies as well as transport and educational facilities. The evidence of the present inquiry seems to show that in quite a considerable number of cases the extra cost of maintaining the evacuated child was a factor that influenced the parents in the decision to bring back their children, and the special charge, introduced when the scheme was falling to pieces, brought quite a number of children home. One is tempted to ask: if free education, why not free evacuation?
- (b) Under the scheme many working-class people welcomed the coming of the children because it brought more spendable money into the family exchequer; and not a few better-to-do

people willingly undertook the care of the children at some cost to themselves as their personal contribution to the national effort. Both of these groups would still be glad to accept children whose parents wanted them kept safe; and their numbers could be considerably increased by a more generous grant from state funds.

- (c) One of the outstanding facts brought out by the inquiry was the superiority of private evacuation over official evacuation, in spite of the fact that in the early stages private evacuation had to be managed without any financial assistance either for transport or maintenance, and that some of the Education Committees put difficulties in the way of the private evacuees. If in the first months of evacuation private evacuation had been properly organised a large number of children who either stayed at home or went off to return before long could have been settled with friends and relatives under conditions which would have satisfied their parents and themselves. Even yet plans should be in readiness to have children sent to such private billets in the event of a sudden threat or of any serious upset of the home life by air raids.
- (d) Various special groups might be got to evacuate as groups under a scheme of organised hostels. While in the first evacuation large houses and institutions proved to have less holding power than the working-class and middle-class homes, hostel life, combining education with boarding under the care of teachers whom the parents know and trust, have been found in the later stages to give very good results. Such new-type boarding schools, providing specially for the young adolescents who were often kept at home under the general scheme, might with advantage be set up over the country.
- (e) Encouragement might also be given to mothers, able and willing to leave the danger towns with their families, to find lodgings well within their means in houses or hutments, where they could carry on their own kind of life safely for the duration of the war. The attempt to billet mothers with their families in private houses was one of the most obvious failures of the first evacuation; but that was no reason for discontinuing family evacuation. Such family groups needed a home of their own, not a mere share in somebody else's home. Given a home of their own, many of them would have remained away for the duration of the war.

## BILLETTING IN LARGE HOUSEHOLDS AND INSTITUTIONS

THE division of the country into evacuation and reception areas was largely determined by the distribution of population. Whether the policy of the enemy was to be indiscriminate bombardment or the bombardment of military objectives, the densely populated areas were likely to suffer most. Arrangements were accordingly made to disperse the child population of the large industrial towns and cities over the more thinly populated rural and residential areas. Since the number of dwellings in any area is, broadly speaking, in direct ratio to the size of the population, the measures taken to reduce the incidence of casualties among children in the former would automatically create an acute housing problem in the latter. It was obvious therefore that, in the absence of special camps to which whole schools might be transferred, only the full utilisation of large houses would enable the reception areas to absorb the influx of fresh population without bringing about a state of overcrowding. It was necessary that in a survey special attention should be devoted to a consideration of the best use to which these establishments might be put, in order to secure an arrangement which could be maintained with the minimum of trouble for the duration of hostilities.

The procedure adopted to secure the necessary information for Dunbartonshire was as follows:

1. Questionnaires were sent to a number of the owners of large houses in the réception areas who were known to have received evacuees into their homes, and replies were invited in the press.
2. Similar questionnaires were sent to voluntary workers in the west of Scotland, including W.V.S. officials, billeting officers and teachers, who were known to have taken an active part in the billeting and supervision of groups of children in large empty houses.

The total number of questionnaires returned with detailed answers was 28, from places mainly in and around Dunbartonshire. While the information given in them was voluminous and valuable, it may be felt that conclusions drawn from such limited evidence might be misleading, since the considerable number of questionnaires not returned suggests a possible attitude of hostility, or apathy, of which no record has been made. To counter that feeling it should be stated that the information provided by the questionnaires was checked in the following ways:

1. Many of the correspondents, in addition to being receiving householders, served as billeting officers or in a similar capacity. These sent with the questionnaire accompanying statements in which they recorded the reaction to the Government evacuation schemes as shown by whole areas.
2. Through the courtesy of the Director of Education of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, one of the most progressive reception areas in the country, an intimate knowledge was acquired of the achievements made possible by well-planned utilisation of large empty houses.<sup>1</sup>
3. There was in Clydebank an active Evacuation Committee working under the auspices of the local W.V.S. The Convener of this Committee acted as a liaison between the evacuation area and the various reception areas to which Clydebank children were sent. Further, periodical consultations were held between this Committee and representatives from the reception areas. In addition, during the winter, an opportunity was given to parents once a week to visit an information bureau where they were able to discuss their difficulties and receive advice. As a result of these activities valuable information was obtained and was incorporated in this and other parts of the survey.
4. Use was made of the information received from over 100 parents whose children were billeted in large houses, in the course of systematic interviews by the children's teachers in connection with another inquiry regarding evacuation.

The term 'large' as applied to a house is vague, but in the present instance is generally taken to indicate a house having ten or more rooms. Such houses may, for the purpose of this survey, be divided into four categories:

1. Houses with the occupants resident.
2. Holiday homes (for example, Y.W.C.A. or hydropathic).
3. Hostels like the Youth Hostels.
4. Empty houses adapted for the reception of evacuees.

#### HOUSES WITH OCCUPANTS RESIDENT

These houses were included in the original billeting investigation made by local authorities on the instruction of the Department of Health. The rough-and-ready method generally adopted was to allow members of families who were willing to receive evacuees one room

<sup>1</sup> Cf. "The Use of Large Houses as Residential Schools under the Government Evacuation Scheme in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright," pp. 136-158.

each, and to allocate the remaining rooms in the house for the reception of a corresponding number of school children and mothers with pre-school children. This method, while seeking to ensure that the burden of responsibility should be equally distributed, and the maximum number of children accommodated, failed to take into account several important considerations, the observance of which might have gone far to prevent deterioration in the relationship between the responsible authorities and the residents in the reception areas. For instance:

- the possibility of enfeebled health on the part of the middle-aged or elderly people who occupied houses which had become too big for them;
- the fact that the domestic staff, though quite adequate in normal circumstances, might be much smaller than would suffice if all the rooms were occupied, and particularly so if most of the occupants were children;
- the possibility that the domestic staff might not remain after the evacuees arrived, and that if they left it might prove difficult if not impossible to replace them;
- no account being taken of the strain consequent on the supervision, care and entertainment of children for an indefinite period, and no adequate provision being made for the relief of that strain.

The unimaginative handling of the situation, which was responsible for these and other omissions equally grave, is all the more regrettable in view of the evidence furnished by many reports from the reception areas revealing how abundant was the good will which existed there, and how thorough were the preparations made in September 1939 to ensure the efficient operation of the first Government evacuation scheme.

There was ample evidence both direct and indirect from parents and officials as well as from householders that the owners of many large houses spared no effort to provide complete living facilities and create an atmosphere of cordiality for their war-time guests. In one mansion house, for example, because of their size and the fact that they were centrally heated, the regular living quarters of the family, consisting of four of the largest bedrooms and the dining-room, were allocated to the evacuees for their exclusive use. In another, three large rooms were allocated for 11 evacuees, two to be used as dormitories and one as a living-room. In yet another, while two large rooms were set apart for eating and sleeping, the children were given the run of the house. One curious case deserves to be reported in greater detail. Three bedrooms, a kitchen, sitting-room and a bathroom were handed over to an evacuee mother and five children for their own use. The mother criticised the

sleeping accommodation on the ground that the children could not sleep unless actually touching her. Accordingly the three beds were arranged side by side in one room and the family slept in a criss-cross fashion. The bath was not used for fear the children should catch cold, and they were all washed in a hand-basin. Their staple diet was bread and jam, and their clothing was so poor that the householder gifted some, only to find that this was regarded as some sort of Government issue to which they were entitled. The mother was 'feckless beyond belief' and after two days took her family home, leaving host and hostess with 'a feeling of complete and absolute defeat.' After the bedding had been renewed—the original bedding had to be destroyed—another batch of evacuees was requested from the billeting officer, but even these remained only till Christmas.

Undoubtedly there were quite a number of examples in the reception areas of the hardness of heart which is engendered by selfishness and an irresponsible sense of property, but this was more than balanced by the evidence forthcoming of a sincere effort in most quarters to make the Government scheme workable.

The clearest confirmation of this was to be found in the reasons given by a group of parents for the home-coming of their children. Out of 115 children who were billeted in large houses (houses which received evacuees ranging in number from 6 to 40) 14 were still in the reception area in May 1940, and 101 had returned home. The difficulties which led to their return were as follows:

*On the part of the child*

Child missed parents (homesick)	.	.	.	.	.	12
Child felt lonely	.	.	.	.	.	10
Missed town life	.	.	.	.	.	1
Frightened	.	.	.	.	.	1
Difficulties of adjustment with people	.	.	.	.	.	3
Objected to restraints	.	.	.	.	.	2
Disliked food	.	.	.	.	.	4
Illness	.	.	.	.	.	2

*On the part of the parents*

Financial difficulties	.	.	.	.	.	26
Missed child	.	.	.	.	.	7
Thought child not properly cared for	.	.	.	.	.	7
Thought child unhappy	.	.	.	.	.	4
Brought child back for schooling	.	.	.	.	.	3
Home difficulties (illness, father needing care, mother wanting back home, etc.)	.	.	.	.	.	25
Religious difficulties	.	.	.	.	.	2

*On the side of the billets*

Parents dissatisfied with accommodation, bedding, food, etc.	10
School too far away . . . . .	2
Quarrels between billeted families . . . . .	2
Children treated as unwelcome . . . . .	3
Householder's difficulties . . . . .	3
Change of billets . . . . .	3

As compared with the 115 children billeted in large groups there were 498 billeted in small groups (from 1 to 5 children). There were two outstanding differences between the two sets:

1. In respect of responsibility for return the respective percentages were

	Child	Parent	Householder
1-5 billets . . .	32	50	18
6 + billets . . .	21	76	3

The householder's responsibility was comparatively small in both cases, but notably small in the case of the 6 + billets. The large percentage of cases in the second group in which the parents were mainly responsible for the child's return was noteworthy.

2. The median period of stay in the smaller billets was 10 weeks, as compared with 6 + weeks in the larger. With this goes the fact that after Christmas 27 per cent. of the children in the former were still evacuated, as compared with 16 per cent. in the latter.

Concerning the difficulties which led to the return of the evacuees there were some differences of emphasis, but except in the case of difficulties from the side of the householder (such as the increasing burden of the children and the emergence of situations leading the householder to desire the departure of the child) there were few which were statistically significant. One of these curiously enough was the greater stress on costs by parents whose children went to the larger houses. With that may be connected the larger percentage of family complications. It is to be noted that there were proportionately more complaints regarding accommodation and conditions in the case of the larger houses, but that even so the number of complaints was small.

It will be seen that out of a total of 101 individual cases, in personal interview with a disinterested party, and with every opportunity given for free criticism, over 80 per cent. had no complaint of any kind to make regarding the treatment meted out to the children during their temporary absence from home. On the contrary there were expressions

of gratitude in plenty to balance the complaints. Even more remarkable is the fact that only in 3 cases did the parents regard the householder as responsible for the child's return.

Admittedly some of the complaints were serious: children locked in a room; damp beds; lack of bedding; lack of cooking facilities; bed-linen not changed after other children had slept in it; in an empty house not even the barest necessities—no light, not even candles, and at first no bed-linen; family of six billeted in one room; clothes wet when parents visited; poor food. But in spite of their seriousness, three qualifications must be made. 1. The worst has been told. 2. Good billeting organisation could have removed all the complaints, but in most cases was not given a chance to do so. 3. There is an equally grievous tale of difficulty and frustration to be told by the reception householders.

Before enumerating these it should be noted that on the assessment of the householders the social status of the evacuees ranged from 'good working class' through 'working class' to 'very poor.' The causes of complaint were as follows:

Bodily dirt and head lice or nits on arrival.

Persistent dirty habits.

Enuresis.

Objections to good but unaccustomed food.

Destruction of property, for example, cigarettes left burning on rosewood mantelpiece and parquet flooring.

Excessive visits of parents and relatives, many of whom expected meals.

Parental neglect, especially in the supply, washing and repair of clothing.

Parental indulgence, for example, in supply of pocket-money.

Summary removal of children on the impulse of the moment, often against the wishes of the children.

Where the children stayed for any length of time, however, there was a general improvement in respect of all those ills and an all-round betterment in health. In the absence of comment by the householders, the extent of the effort that had to be made by them to effect this improvement can only be inferred.

On the other hand these same householders complained:

that their house was not their own;

that the strain of constant attention to children was irksome, even when the domestic staff was adequate and willing to co-operate; that this strain was unbearable when the domestic staff was inadequate or ill-disposed to the children (as sometimes happened); that voluntary help from outside sources was difficult to secure and in any case was not dependable over a long period.

By far the most serious of these complaints was the permanent encroachment on normal family life which was the inevitable consequence of receiving evacuees into the home, even when the home was a large one. The following quotations from reports are typical:

'People will put up with almost anything which has a time limit, but a future which is altogether indefinite is distracting and frightening.'

'Trying to accommodate from two to five working-class children in a middle-class villa is simply hell for all concerned.'

'The fundamental fact is that there are two sets of individuals—evacuee children and householders—usually with an entirely different upbringing, and therefore viewing life from an entirely different angle. . . . The prejudices of one class, even with the best intentions in the world, cannot be thrust upon another.'

'The effect, as week succeeds week, of the disruption of normal family life is most insidious and produces obvious signs of growing demoralisation. . . . Where elderly people were concerned, it was not in the earlier stages so much a question of deterioration in physical wellbeing as of growing mental distress, which, unless relieved, soon leads to a complete collapse.'

Where householders had young families of their own the position, owing to differences of outlook, temperament and habits, was specially difficult.

All this must be kept in mind if the reaction of the householders to evacuation is to be understood. It was the deep disturbance of home life which was the real source of hostility to private billeting in the reception areas, and not the incidence of the more obvious unpleasant features such as vermin and enuresis which, though exasperating, might be eradicated.

For this reason the evacuation authorities, having arranged for the medical examination of children, and for the isolation of the unfit before billeting took place, had not found a solution to the problem. Such arrangements were merely palliatives which could not reach the real source of the trouble, and by themselves did not in any wise reassure the householders in the reception areas. Nor, so far as the reports show, was there any foundation for the belief that the disinclination of householders to receive children, and the equally strong disinclination of parents to send them, arose from mutual recriminations between these two sets of people.

Out of the mass of detail which was surveyed the following facts emerged:

1. The persistence of the Government in making private billeting the core of their evacuation policy was not well-advised.

2. The cures commonly prescribed for the problems of private billeting were really its worst aspects, these being
  - (a) change of billet for the child;
  - (b) compulsory billeting for the householder.

It has been proved in the first case that while in isolated instances there were good results, the general result was disrupted continuity and a growing bewilderment in the minds of children and parents; while the householders in the reception areas who, having borne the burden which many of their neighbours had evaded, naturally advocated the second measure, did not realise that it meant the foisting of the children on unwilling foster parents.

3. Private billeting was comparatively successful in one set of circumstances only, that is, where a group of evacuees had been billeted in a house large enough for a part to be allocated for their exclusive use; large enough, that is, to have a household within a household. The continuance of this was advocated by householders and parents alike, while the fact that the children thus accommodated did not return home readily is a further proof of the success of the arrangement. In many cases where a change of billet was adumbrated parents and children alike would ask to be billeted in the houses with large groups. The children were attracted by the communal life, and their parents at home liked to feel that they were going into an organised community instead of into the hazards of a completely unknown new billet.

The conditions attached to this preference are that help should be given in supervising the children out of school hours, that additional domestic staff should be supplied, and that the children should be under 12 years of age.

4. There is unanimous insistence that children should be billeted in large empty houses. The reports which have come from those who have conducted such establishments, utilised for the reception of evacuees, make refreshing reading, and the consistent success which has crowned their efforts commands all the greater attention, since it was achieved during a period of improvisation. Even more convincing is the obvious approval of the children billeted there as well as of their parents. Out of 310 who went at the beginning to billets of this type, 250, or just over 80 per cent., had remained at the date of survey (May 1940), whereas of the 266 children billeted in large occupied houses, 71, or 27 per cent., had remained, the majority of these having been housed under conditions approximating to those outlined in the preceding paragraph.

When this policy was advocated by the reception areas there was a temptation to decry their attitude as an attempt to evade their obligations or to suggest that it was born of a conspiracy to shuffle responsibility on to the shoulders of that great anonymity, the Government, national or local. This does not do justice to the householders. As has been shown, there is ample evidence that a genuine effort was made in the reception areas to make the Government evacuation scheme a success. But even in districts where this effort was most fruitful there was a feeling of nervous tension, and more than a hint that the large fund of original good will was a wasting asset.

#### HOLIDAY HOMES AND YOUTH HOSTELS

The use of such establishments is not recommended because, unless commandeered, there is no security of tenure. Further, no control over the management of the former is possible, while the latter as a rule are only suitable for occasional summer use. Nevertheless, the information available provides further indication of the happy results that can accrue from billeting children in organised groups.

It must be admitted that conditions in one holiday home under hostile management were very bad, while in another the presence of the children caused a sense of strain, which, though stoically borne, was obviously not conducive to a happy atmosphere. These isolated examples do not condemn group billeting. They are, however, a salutary warning that the first essential of success is a carefully chosen adult staff. A third example, a hydropathic, had a different story to tell. For several months after the outbreak of war 17 boys, all over the age of 7, and 3 adult helpers stayed there. They were accommodated in one very large room and had the freedom of the grounds. A special door to their quarters had been provided and they did not come into contact with the normal guests. The management had no complaints to make and was willing to house them indefinitely.

Scottish Youth Hostels were used at the beginning to a considerable extent as billets for physically and mentally defective children. They were staffed by teachers from special schools, women helpers employed normally in feeding centres, generally a Domestic Science teacher, and sometimes a cook. The staff shared the accommodation with the children. There were many claims on the ingenuity, patience and endurance of those in charge; but every claim was met. The excellent weather was an advantage, and good food, exercise, fresh air and twelve hours' sleep had their effect on the children's health. The general tone was happy camaraderie, and while there was a considerable drift home this was due partly to the first shock of unfamiliar circumstances, but mainly to the influence of parents. With the approach of

winter all Youth Hostels were closed, and the children were centralised for re-evacuation into permanent quarters.

After the evacuation problem has been viewed from every angle the verdict, therefore, is that group billeting on the hostel system, and not private billeting, is the policy which in the main should be adopted for children of secondary age and for children of the following categories:

1. Preschool children. (There was a strong wish in the reception areas for the establishment of nursery schools.)
2. Mentally defective children.
3. Physically defective children.
4. Myopic children.

The separate grouping in large houses of the three last named proved successful. Special mention must be made of some features of the conduct of one establishment where 40 mentally defective boys are billeted. All come from very poor homes, and the new environment, the inculcation of regular habits, ample sleep in well-ventilated rooms and well-balanced diet have had a remarkable effect, which is shown not only in their health but in a fresh zest for life. The teachers in charge of them speak with enthusiasm of the benefit which they are deriving from continuity of contact with their pupils. No longer, as was the case at home, is the influence of each day at school cancelled out overnight by that of the slum street. The purposefulness of the boys out of doors is remarkable. They help in the kitchen garden, and many have staked out little plots of their own. They sweep out their dormitories scrupulously without supervision. A project of some of the older boys to dam a stream running through the grounds solved the washing problem during a subsequent period of drought. They also cleared a tennis court of weeds, and the brighter boys are learning to play during the summer.

Children of this type, however, form only a small section of the community. Hostel billeting for normal children attending junior and senior secondary schools is equally desirable. Acquaintance with hostels of this type already established prompts the following recommendations:

1. The first requisite for success is a trained domestic supervisor able to cope with the problems of communal feeding and the management of the household staff.
2. Since every effort must be made to exploit the educational possibilities of the situation great care must be taken in the choice of the resident teachers, who should be volunteers for the work. (It should be noted that resident teachers are necessary whether school-work is done on the premises or not.) Teachers should not be chosen merely because they

possess high qualifications in one particular subject, even for hostels where the children are following a full secondary course. The narrow outlook of one-sided specialisation, not unknown in secondary schools, is undesirable in establishments of the hostel type. Not only should the teachers in charge have a broad range of interests, but they must be ready to avail themselves of every opportunity, which the circumstances and the district may offer, of leading the children under their care into channels of purposeful activity. They should, for instance, supplement their own efforts by inviting the co-operation of the experts in fishing, hunting, farming, gardening and bird-life, who are to be found in most rural areas.

3. The choice of rooms for dormitories is most important. Due consideration should be given to the number of children to be allotted to each, and care must be taken that the bedroom of the supervising teacher is placed in a strategic position to ensure proper control after Lights Out.
4. The family character of the community living in the hostel must be developed. Thus
  - (a) It is advisable that children of both sexes should be included.
  - (b) Meals should be taken by children and staff together, and all should partake of the same food.
  - (c) Simplicity should be the keynote of the establishment, but there must be no suggestion of bareness or make-shift in furnishings, napery and cutlery. It must always be remembered that the hostel is the children's home, a place where the social graces are to be cultivated.
  - (d) The older children should be encouraged by the staff to share responsibility for the younger children. This is valuable social training and creates in the hostel that spirit of mutual helpfulness which is the chief characteristic of happy family life. (Two illustrations will give an idea of the delightful results which can accrue from such an arrangement. A boy had an accident in which an arm was broken. In spite of the fact that his elder brother was on the premises, he asked immediately after the limb received attention that his prefect should sleep next to him in the sick-bay. A girl of 16 was in charge of a dormitory of 8 girls much younger than herself. When asked if she found the responsibility heavy, she admitted that her

charges were rather a handful at times, but added, 'That is all forgotten when I have eight dreams to hear each morning, and letters from eight different homes to read. And they were real sports when I was swotting for my Highers.'

5. There must be a clear understanding regarding the relation of the hostel (a) to the evacuation area, (b) to the reception area.

(a) The evacuation authority should concern itself only with the supply of staff and where necessary of school equipment.

(b) The intricate preparation and the subsequent supervision of the hostel must be the concern of the Education Authority in the reception area. If it is made clear that the project is based on the wish of the Department of Health to reduce private billeting to the absolute minimum, the responsible administrative officials and the hostel staffs will have the full co-operation of the residents of the district. But if it is true that the hostels, in order to be a success at the beginning, must receive liberally from the community of which they have become members, it is equally true that their continued success will depend on the contribution that they in their turn make to the community. They must never make the mistake of regarding the local authority as merely a source of supply. Even to feel gratitude as temporary exiles for favours accorded to them is not enough. They must enter into the life of their new home and play their part as full members of the community.

These are the chief recommendations which have to be made in respect of group billeting of children in hostels. While the adoption of such a scheme is wholeheartedly advocated, it is at the same time appreciated how arduous is the work of preparation and organisation. But this is more than offset by the benefits accruing to householders and children alike. It is also realised that hostel organisation, unless wisely planned and administered, might prove in a different way as disappointing as private billeting. But the difficulties are no greater than can be overcome by enlightened management. The reward will be twofold. Not only will hostel billeting solve the most serious problems of evacuation but it will make possible an important experiment in education. It may be that this measure adopted to meet the exigencies of war will pass over into the peace as a permanent educational practice.

## THE USE OF LARGE HOUSES AS RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS UNDER THE GOVERNMENT EVACUATION SCHEME IN THE STEWARTRY OF KIRKCUDBRIGHT

In the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright ten mansion houses were utilised as hostels or as boarding schools to provide accommodation for 650 pupils, teachers and domestic staff under the Government evacuation scheme. Seven of these hostels were established by the County Council—the receiving authority under the scheme—to overcome problems such as the provision of full secondary education for evacuated pupils or the lack of transport facilities which prevented a pupil, billeted in a remote rural district, from attending a secondary school, or the social difficulties which were sometimes encountered when evacuated children of one persuasion were billeted with householders of another religious belief. The other three houses were requisitioned by the Council at the request of the Education Authority of Glasgow to provide housing and school accommodation for children suffering from mental or physical defect, for whom arrangements other than private billeting were necessary.

### CALLY HOUSE

Cally House was a joint effort on the part of the Stewartry and Glasgow Education Authorities. To appreciate the reasons which led these bodies to rent an hotel as a hostel, a review of the situation in the County of Kirkcudbright as at September 1939 is necessary. The Government evacuation scheme gave priority of dispersal to schools in the centre of the city and to schools in close proximity to vulnerable points of military importance. Instructions were given to the sending authority that schools in the above categories were to be evacuated to their receiving areas as quickly as possible. Schools on the outskirts of the city, where the danger was held to be less imminent, were to be sent later. Owing to the comparative remoteness of many parts of the Stewartry from the direct railway line to Glasgow, the schools allotted to the county on the second and third receiving days were situated mainly in the outskirts of the city. The pupils of these schools were drawn from a more prosperous quarter of the city where the parents generally keep their children at school beyond the statutory leaving age. Those who framed the scheme, having as their primary aim the saving of life, had naturally little time or inclination to ponder in advance how a rural school system could make provision for the

education of a large number of pupils who had reached the secondary stage. When the pupils and teachers had been billeted and an attempt was made to restore the education system of the county to something like normal, the local officials reported to the Education Authority that owing to the relatively large number of secondary pupils no provision for full secondary education could be made for local or evacuated pupils other than on a double-shift basis. They further reported that it would be impossible to rebillet in the burghs of the county, where secondary schools were situated, those secondary pupils who had been billeted in the more remote landward parts, and that approximately 500 senior pupils were without secondary school facilities. The local Education Authority considered the report and resolved that, notwithstanding the difficulties intimated by the officials, secondary education within the county should be on a full-time basis. Exceptional measures were urgently required to meet the situation.

On inquiry there was found to be available near Gatehouse-of-Fleet, Cally Palace Hotel, situated in attractive grounds extending to some ninety acres and consisting of a central block and two wings. When this building was surveyed it was estimated to be capable of providing a recreation-room, dining-room and suitable dormitory accommodation for some 200 pupils. Since communication between the wings was by way of a passage on the ground floor, which traversed the central block, control and supervision by the teaching staff could be readily organised. The staff bedrooms and the staff commonroom were carefully chosen with this object in view. After the situation had been considered in its various bearings the proposal was submitted to the Glasgow Education Authority, who assured the Stewartry Authority of their wholehearted co-operation. It was resolved, as a result of this assurance, to rent the hotel as a residential, co-educational, secondary school for evacuated pupils from Glasgow for the duration of the war.

Recognition of Cally House School as a school under the Day School (Scotland) Code, 1939, providing a course of secondary education extending over not less than five years, was obtained from the Scottish Education Department in December 1939. While the school is under the direct control of the Stewartry Education Authority, it is freely recognised that the active co-operation and enthusiastic support of the Glasgow Education Authority have contributed largely to the success of the venture. The teaching staff was seconded from Glasgow.

As indicative of the problems faced in the early days of the project it should be said that although the hotel was probably the largest building in the Stewartry and contained between fifty and sixty rooms of reasonable size, accommodation was lacking for teaching purposes. It was found necessary, therefore, to erect close to the main building four huts similar in type to those used by Glasgow Education Authority for

holiday camp schools: the cost of the huts was borne by Glasgow.<sup>1</sup> Eight classrooms, a gymnasium for the girls, an art room and a head master's room were thus provided. For instruction in practical science a laboratory was courageously contrived out of the hotel garage. In this connection the efforts of the pupils to improvise apparatus and to furnish the laboratory were outstanding. The pleasure shown by the pupils when set to make apparatus, and the ingenuity they displayed in overcoming the shortage of science equipment, gave substance to the doctrine that every school should make provision for active creation on the part of the pupils.

The school was divided into nine mixed classes covering a five years' course. Early difficulties to meet the varied needs of scholars drawn from practically every secondary school in Glasgow provoked many discussions. Should pupils be allowed to complete the course which they had been following in Glasgow, or should the school aim at a minimum common presentation for the Leaving Certificate? These and similar matters required careful consideration. The pupils in the fifth year in 1939 followed no fewer than eleven different courses of instruction, one of which comprised English, Geography, Spanish, Commercial Subjects and Domestic Science. But no teacher with recognised qualifications in Spanish or Commercial Subjects had been appointed to the school. It was ultimately decided that the pupils should continue their previous courses of study. A teacher of Mathematics undertook to accept responsibility for the teaching of Commercial Subjects—Shorthand and Book-keeping—and endeavoured by means of correspondence with a colleague specialist teacher in Glasgow to keep ahead or at least abreast of his pupils; a Modern Languages teacher, who professed but slight knowledge of Spanish, was given immediate charge of the pupils to be presented in that subject. Notwithstanding these and other difficulties, out of 42 candidates presented for the Senior Leaving Certificate in March 1940, 39 were successful.

The curriculum presently in operation provides for English, Mathematics, Science—including Physics, Chemistry and Botany—Latin, French, German, Music, Art, Domestic Science (comprising Needle-work and Laundry) and Physical Training. Provision has thus been made for the usual range of subjects offered in a Scottish secondary school, and the pupils are therefore eligible to be presented for the Senior Leaving Certificate of the Education Department. But in a school of this character many calls are made upon the services and the leisure time of the scholars for duties which are not scholastic: gardens require attention; household chores are an ever-present necessity; the pony must be groomed; the pigs and the poultry must be fed. To

<sup>1</sup> It is the intention of Glasgow Education Authority to re-erect these huts as a camp school on some suitable site within the county on the termination of the war.

ensure that there is no departure from the required standard of attainment, and to obviate the danger of too many calls being made upon the pupils, the hours from 6 to 8 in the evening are devoted on school-days to preparation. During these periods the pupils are encouraged to consult with the teaching staff about difficulties encountered in school work; the teaching staff assess this school feature very highly and are of the opinion that the present standard of attainment in educational subjects would have been difficult to reach without 'prep.' Instruction in Laundry-work is given to the younger boys. The original time-table had made provision for the teaching of this subject to girls, but when it was learned that some boys were washing small articles of clothing in their desire to reduce laundry bills or to save the postage of parcels to Glasgow, it became apparent that practical instruction in Laundry-work for boys was a necessity. The innovation has been a complete success. The Domestic Science teachers responsible agree that not only are the boys keenly interested in this subject but that they also carry out faithfully the instructions which they receive.

While the scholars of the school are drawn from markedly different social grades and represent most of the secondary schools under the control of Glasgow Education Authority, there is no trace of snobbery or superiority in the attitude of the more fortunate. Cally House is truly a democratic institution—the possessor of a highly developed corporate spirit. Past and present pupils, even in the short space of three years, are proud of the school's achievements and have nothing but kindly sentiments for its future well-being. The school was opened on 10th November 1939, by which time approval had been obtained from the various central departments concerned. By 26th June 1940 a Former Pupils' Club was in being, the membership of which consisted of senior pupils who, at the conclusion of their school life, were returning to Glasgow to proceed to the University or to begin work.

Unlike the pupils of most schools conducted under the Day School (Scotland) Code, who may pay an occasional diffident visit to the teachers of their old school, the members of Cally House Former Pupils' Club organise an annual excursion to Gatehouse-of-Fleet. By this means they maintain contact with their evacuated school and are able to report in person the progress they have made either at the University or in business. More important than the visit to the school is the opportunity it affords to reveal the continued interest of the former prefects in their previous charges—an interest which is reciprocated by the pupils of the school, who are intensely proud of any athletic or University success gained. The annual excursion to Cally House is a striking testimony to the value of the prefect system and of the part it plays in the lives of the pupils of Cally House.

A few dormitory prefects act as prefects for the school and have been

entrusted with matters connected with the house-management. They draw up lists of pupils to be responsible for house duties; they read the scripture lessons in turn at prayers in the chapel; and they supervise the whole school during the tea-meal, at which only one member of the teaching staff is present. The school prefects meet occasionally as a School Council. Often as a result of their deliberations, criticisms of school or house matters, or suggestions for improvement, are forwarded to the House Committee, which is composed of the head master and four members of the teaching staff. On occasion, as determined by the head master, both these bodies meet together and consider matters which affect the welfare of the school. Credit is freely given by the head master to the help he has received from the school prefects and the School Council, particularly as the privilege of direct approach produces the friendly relationship between pupils and teaching staff characteristic of the school.

An outstanding achievement at Cally House is the attention paid to the gardens and surrounding grounds. Under the direction of certain teachers and a professional gardener some seven acres are cultivated. Approximately three acres, enclosed in the main walled garden, are devoted to fruit and vegetables; the extensive greenhouses are utilised for the growing of tomatoes. The grounds immediately surrounding the walled garden are cultivated on broad farming lines and are sown in oats, beet, carrots and turnips, or are planted with potatoes. The aim of the school is to produce sufficient vegetables to meet the requirements of the hostel throughout the year and to this end two additional acres of moderate grazing have been ploughed annually.

The grounds attached to the school extend to ninety acres, and include a lawn of two acres, a small lake stocked with trout and some small woods containing different varieties of trees and shrubs. A lawn-tennis hard court is provided, two net-ball pitches and a hockey pitch are laid out, and, to meet the particular need of the boys, a cricket field and a rugby field have been rented from neighbouring farmers. Ample facilities are thereby provided for summer and winter games. In addition to the foregoing, during the summer term and on occasions in the early autumn, swimming is enjoyed at Sandgreen—a safe bathing spot on the shores of the Solway within a mile and a half of the school.

Reference has been made to the happy relationship which exists between pupils and staff and to the cordial atmosphere and friendly tone characterising the school. When the school was hurriedly opened neither the scholars nor the teaching staff had any previous experience of living in a boarding-school. The need of a healthy social life for the pupils was a problem that was immediate and had to be met. While no one expected that children would be evacuated for over four years

or that Cally House School would be in existence in 1943, certain factors made the success of the experiment at Cally House assured from the beginning of its history. All the pupils had been accustomed to co-education at some time during their school lives, so that the change from day-school conditions to those of a residential school was not such a great breach with educational tradition as it would have been in England. Moreover, many of the older pupils had been accompanied by their younger brothers and sisters so that there was at Cally House a 'young family' atmosphere conducive to a normal social life. It is worthy of note that there has been created a tradition of chivalry and courtesy towards members of the opposite sex. No single case of misconduct between the sexes falls to be reported. This has been possible through the emphasis laid upon self-discipline; and, in this connection, the Scout Council of Honour may be mentioned. Most of the senior boys had been patrol leaders or scouts in Glasgow, and their natural desire to continue these activities led to the request for the formation of a Scout Troop. But, as no member of the staff had been a Scoutmaster, or had experience of handling a Scout Troop, the request was forwarded to the local Scout Commissioner, who recommended that a Council of Honour should be instituted. This Council of patrol leaders undertook to carry on scouting activities without the aid of a Scoutmaster. The effect of this Council of Honour upon the tone of the school will be appreciated when it is reported that the first school captain—a boy who was greatly admired and respected—was a patrol leader.

The success of the Scout Troop led to the formation of a Guide Company. A local lady undertook responsibility for the training of the members, and, as a result of her interest since 1939, the school Company has carried on the usual Guide activities most successfully.

The change in the fortunes of war has called into being the Home Guard. The older boys eligible for enrolment have associated themselves with this movement, while the younger boys have become members of the County Squadron of the Air Training Corps. Other activities include a Literary Society, which meets fortnightly during the winter months, a school choir and a class in Country Dancing. But the outstanding feature of the week is the Saturday evening 'hop' which the pupils regard as the main social event, and for which there is great preparation. This Saturday dance has enabled the boys and girls to meet on an equal and friendly footing and has been largely instrumental in producing a feeling of true fellowship and respect for the point of view of the opposite sex. Throughout all the school activities, be they athletic or social, the aim has been to create self-government, and the happy contented community of Cally House is a sure indication of the success that has been achieved.

The difficulty of homesickness has sometimes been encountered, particularly in pupils who had no previous experience of private billeting, for it is noticeable that this difficulty is more likely to be experienced when a pupil is evacuated directly from Glasgow to the school. A very small proportion—not more than 3 to 4 per cent. in the odd 250 pupils who have passed through the school—suffered from homesickness and were returned to Glasgow.

Heavy demands have been made upon the teaching staff who have sacrificed personal contact with their homes and friends in Glasgow and have devoted their leisure time to organising and supervising recreational and social activities. While in private conversation the staff may sometimes confess that there is a constant strain, that they are cut off from literary and musical activities and that there is little leisure time for private study, it says much for the faithfulness of the teaching profession that no complaints have been made, for Cally House has been more than fortunate in its teachers who have accepted the extra duties of a boarding-school as their contribution to evacuation.

In accordance with the agreement between the Stewartry and Glasgow Education Authorities, when Cally House was instituted, any deficiencies in either the school or the hostel account, after grants from the Scottish Education Department or the Department of Health for Scotland had been taken into consideration, were to be met by the Glasgow Education Authority. To date no calls have been made; on the contrary there has accrued a credit balance from the billeting allowances of approximately £1,000, thereby permitting the sum of £500 to be set aside to meet the cost of redecoration and repairs to the hotel after the war.

The success of the Cally experiment influenced the County Council when proposals from the Department of Health for Scotland for a further large-scale evacuation of school children were under consideration. In February 1940, intimation was received that a further scheme of evacuation would be put into operation when the Government should decide such a course necessary. When these proposals were under the review of the Council criticisms were made of certain aspects of the scheme, and the opinion was expressed that unless radical alterations were made in the Government's proposals, any future voluntary scheme of billeting would meet with little success. To mitigate the inconvenience caused to householders in the county through the operation of the scheme it was agreed to submit the following resolutions to the Secretary of State for Scotland:

1. That every endeavour should be made to utilise to the fullest extent large empty houses as hostels.
2. That adequate arrangements should be made for the medical inspection of the children at the detraining stations, prior

to billeting, and that clearing-house accommodation should be provided for unsatisfactory cases.

3. That in view of the possibility of the war continuing over a number of years with large-scale bombing of the civilian population, the Department should consider the development of a long-term policy providing for the use of large houses as hostels, and for the erection and use of holiday camps in the reception areas.

As a result of these representations intimation was received from the Department of Health that 25 per cent. of the total number of children allocated to the county might be accommodated in suitable large houses. As the quota fixed for the Stewartry was 4,000 children and as this concession to use large houses would necessitate a prolonged search for accommodation, sanction was given to survey every large house in the county. Many houses examined were found to be entirely unsuitable owing to scarcity of water supply, inadequate drainage, unsuitable cooking arrangements, lack of electricity or other lighting installations. The survey took three months, at the end of which time the officials concerned reported that six houses were suitable.

With the consent of the Department of Health compulsory requisitioning orders were served upon the owners. On what basis were these houses to be allocated? As a result of careful consideration it was agreed that, in keeping with the resolution that all secondary education in the Stewartry should be continued on a full-time basis, the houses should be allocated to those schools providing a secondary course. Of the two houses surplus to secondary-school requirements, one was given to the Glasgow Jewish Mission Board to be used as a hostel for secondary and elementary children of that faith, while the other was reserved for Roman Catholic primary girls from 8 to 12 years of age.

The following excerpts from the Minute of Meeting of the Committee dealing with this matter indicate the allocations made:

- (a) That Cargen House be utilised as a school/hostel and that it be allocated to accommodate 70 junior secondary Roman Catholic boys from St Bonaventure's and Holyrood Secondary Schools.
- (b) That the Council as occupiers of Ernespie House delegate its management as a hostel to the Glasgow Jewish Mission Board, always provided that the officials of the Council have the right of oversight. That the billeting allowances, as fixed by the Government in respect of pupils, teaching staff and domestic staff, be paid over to the said Board conditional upon any deficit in the running costs of the hostel being met by the Glasgow Jewish Mission Board.

- (c) That the Council as occupiers of Milton Park House delegate its management as a school/hostel to the Governors of the Hutchesons' Education Trust, always provided that the officials of the Council have the right of oversight. That as regards the educational arrangements the Governors of the Trust be requested to supply the necessary teaching staff, school stationery and school requisites for the 72 pupils of their school to be accommodated at Milton Park.
- (d) That Netherlaw House be utilised as a school/hostel and that it be allocated to accommodate 72 junior secondary girls from Pollokshields and Queen's Park Secondary Schools.
- (e) That Slogarie House be utilised as a school/hostel and that it be allocated to accommodate 46 junior secondary girls from Holyrood and St Bonaventure's Roman Catholic Secondary Schools.
- (f) That Broomlands House, Dalbeattie, be utilised as a hostel to accommodate 30 primary girls from Holy Cross Roman Catholic School.

All the schools, with the exception of Hutchesons' Girls' Grammar School, which is a fee-paying senior secondary school with a primary department and is under the control of governors, were public schools under the control and jurisdiction of the Glasgow Education Authority, who were consulted at an early date and gave their approval to the Council's proposals.

As a result of enemy bombing in the City of Glasgow, the plans prepared by the Department of Health for the second evacuation of school children were put into operation in April 1941. Fortunately by the time these instructions were received the necessary arrangements and alterations required in the large houses were completed so that the pupils were transferred directly from Glasgow to houses fully equipped and prepared for their reception.

#### CARGEN

The history of Cargen school/hostel is somewhat disappointing. It was opened on 9th April 1941, and provided housing and school accommodation for 70 Roman Catholic boys between 12 and 15 years of age. Before the house could reach the standard demanded by the Department of Health it was necessary to spend approximately £1,000 upon the installation of electric light, the provision of a new boiler for the hot water supply, considerable extensions to the cooking facilities and necessary enlargements to bathroom, washing and lavatory accommodation. These improvements are detailed because they indicate a few of the many problems which confronted the receiving authority and

illustrate that extreme care and caution were necessary when large houses were being selected for evacuation purposes.

While the pupils were ultimately very happy at Cargen and responded well to hostel life, certain difficulties prevented complete success from being achieved. From the opening date the pupils showed a marked tendency to return to Glasgow. Although the teachers endeavoured to arouse the interest of their charges in the countryside, by August 1941, of the original 70 pupils evacuated to this house only 37 remained. With the exception of Slogarie House, where senior Roman Catholic girls were accommodated from the same two schools, and where a similar restlessness and desire to return home were noticeable, it was the general experience that pupils placed in large houses remained much longer in the receiving area than pupils billeted in private houses. No explanation can be offered for the rapid return to Glasgow from Cargen and Slogarie. It cannot be assumed that these two houses were less comfortable than others in the county or that discipline in them was in any way too severe, for it was early apparent that great care and attention were being devoted by the teachers to their charges in Cargen and Slogarie.

In the course of a few months a friendly relationship between pupils and staff developed which raised hopes that Cargen would vindicate the confidence of the local administration that a well-organised and smoothly working large house would be enjoyed by the pupils and would result in their remaining in the receiving area. Activities in the garden, where excellent work was done by the pupils and staff, tended to confirm these hopes. But approaches made to the County Council by one of His Majesty's Forces that Cargen should be released for service purposes proved a further obstacle to success. When it became known to the pupils that there was a possibility that the house would be closed, and when this news was reported back to Glasgow, doubt was created in the minds of the parents whether their children would be transferred to private billets or whether an opportunity would be given to them to start afresh in another large house. Again there was a return to Glasgow. When the hostel was closed in March 1942, 19 pupils were transferred to Broomrigg House, Dumfriesshire.

#### MILTON PARK

Concealed from the main road and standing well back in its own grounds to overlook the Ken valley, Milton Park, Dalry, provides both house and school accommodation for some 66 primary and secondary girls, and the necessary teaching and domestic staff. This singularly happy house, opened on 24th March 1941, possessed the advantage of unity denied to the other school/hostels instituted in the county. The difficulties of Cally House, where scholars were drawn from so many

secondary schools in Glasgow, have already been reported. At Netherlaw and Slogarie similar conditions on a somewhat minor scale prevailed. To these houses the children and also the members of the teaching staff had been transferred from two Glasgow schools, which had no previous record of co-operation or close affinity, so that the first task confronting the teachers was to instil a sense of loyalty in what was, to all intents and purposes, a new residential school. At Milton Park, however, there was a feeling of unity inherent from the beginning owing to the fact that the pupils and teachers were a section of one school transferred to a house in the country, who retained in all other respects their status as members of a town school. The pupils brought with them the valuable asset of a fine school tradition, characterised by a particularly happy relationship between themselves and their teachers. It was very easy, under conditions such as these, for Milton Park to be so organised that each member of the teaching staff acted as 'mother' to a group of seven or eight pupils who were regarded and looked upon themselves as members of her 'family.' The 'mother' of the 'family' accepted full responsibility for the welfare of her charges in all matters other than minor ailments, for which duty a Welfare Supervisor—a retired teacher of the school—had been appointed. A prefect, a senior secondary girl appointed from the highest class in school, was attached to each 'family' to act in the capacity of 'elder sister.' These prefects became very popular with the 'families' and gave positive proof of the genuine affection often aroused when older girls take responsibility for the welfare and care of girls younger than themselves.

All the necessary subjects of the secondary and primary curriculum as demanded by the Day School (Scotland) Code, 1939, are provided. Seven pupils were successfully presented for the Senior Leaving Certificate of the Scottish Education Department.

For teaching purposes two outside buildings, with central heating, are used as classrooms, while a science laboratory heated by electrical panels and fitted with calor gas for bunsen work has been improvised successfully in a small outside building. The other necessary classrooms are obtained by the use of the dining-room and lounge of the main building.

Small classes make for satisfactory teaching. The results obtained by the small group evacuated to Milton Park on the completion of the first session were most encouraging. The pupils were set similar examination papers to those given in the town school, the papers were marked by a panel of teachers drawn from the town and the country branches of the school, and the pupils were placed in the same lists for order of merit. A senior girl at Milton Park took first place in History, another took first place equal with town pupils in Art, a country girl took first place among all the first-year secondary pupils, of whom there

were at least 100 in the whole school, and another first place among all the third-year secondary pupils, while three others took high places. The same fine record of achievement has been obtained in the senior classes, thus demonstrating that residential-school life with its demands upon the leisure time of the pupils has not prevented sound progress in scholastic matters.

In household affairs the girls are given practical instruction on how to set tables correctly, how to arrange flowers, to serve at table, to air, sweep and dust their own bedrooms. The girls by acting in turn as orderlies come to realise that setting tables and clearing them are small duties within their powers—duties very necessary for the success of their community life. Probably most benefit is derived by the prefects who are given an opportunity to develop powers of self-reliance and to become accustomed to responsibility. In this connection it should be reported that three prefects, who in town, revealed no aptitude for, or particular interest in, young children, have resolved, as a result of their experience at Milton Park, to embark upon the future career of infant teaching.

A small community such as Milton Park has to find its own entertainment. The pupils under the guidance of the staff read and act plays, enjoy Country Dancing and prove that they are more than capable of devising their leisure activities profitably. Private reading has not been forgotten. By instruction of the Education Committee each hostel is regarded as a library centre; collections of books are sent to them at the appropriate exchange intervals. The teachers report that, as a result of the facilities offered, their scholars learn to enjoy reading, and that in consequence their general background of knowledge has been extended.

#### NETHERLAW

Netherlaw is at once the most beautiful and most suitable of all the houses. Standing on the shores of the Solway Firth above a small hamlet of some dozen houses at Abbey Burnfoot and facing the Cumberland coast, it is a modern house in its own policies. With a smooth lawn of two acres, utilised by the girls for games, an interesting rock garden displaying fine specimens of rock plants, and a small park in front of the house sloping gently towards the sea and containing a wide variety of trees and rare shrubs, this beautiful house, with its oak panelling and all modern conveniences, was offered ungrudgingly by its owner for evacuation purposes.

The house was opened on 14th March 1941, when 72 girls at the junior secondary stage from Pollokshields and Queen's Park Secondary Schools were transferred after they had experienced on the eve of their departure the first extensive aerial attack on the City of Glasgow.

Whether it was owing to the experience they had undergone prior to evacuation and the great contrast with the peace and solitude they enjoyed on their arrival in the Stewartry, or to a lively sense of pride and affection engendered in their minds by Netherlaw House itself, the pupils quickly settled to their new mode of life and soon gave evidence of a keen school spirit and a corporate unity.

The house had been estimated to be capable of providing four class-rooms, dining-room, suitable dormitories and a sick-bay for the pupils, a staff commonroom and bedrooms for the teaching and domestic staffs and the necessary storerooms for the domestic department. The additional accommodation required for teaching purposes was obtained by using the dining-room and the small central hall. The girls, who were between 12 and 15 years of age, were grouped in six classes to cover the first stage of the secondary course and followed the normal secondary school curriculum with the exception of Science, for which subject, owing to the lack of accommodation and facilities, no provision had been made. The results from the school have been most gratifying. The girls who completed the third year of their course at Netherlaw and were later transferred to Cally House in September 1941 compared creditably with the pupils at that school. The younger girls who sat the county Control Examination made an excellent appearance. The school roll remained remarkably steady; indeed one feature of this house was the co-operation shown by the parents in their desire to take advantage of the unique facilities offered to their children of a residential-school type of education.

The lawn was laid out as a hockey pitch, and with a hard tennis court in good condition the facilities for outdoor recreation could be regarded as reasonable.

The prefect system did not operate so successfully as in some other houses, like Cally House or Milton Park. One reason for the apparent lack of success may have been that even the oldest girls in the school from whom the prefects would normally be appointed were very much younger in age than the prefects appointed at the other houses, and so could not exercise the same authority. There was apparent from the opening date, however, a fine tone in the school and a friendly relationship between scholars and staff. This feature, characteristic of most, if not all, of the houses, was the outcome of the devotion and care shown by the staffs as a whole towards their charges.

But Netherlaw had certain disadvantages. Being fully seven miles distant from the Burgh of Kirkcudbright and nearly two miles distant from a bus route, contact with outside affairs was difficult to maintain, and with all its advantages the school might well have proved a complete disappointment had it not been for the keen desire of the teachers to make it a success.

To some extent the freedom enjoyed by the pupils at Cally House to take a leading share in garden work was impossible at Netherlaw owing to the excellent condition of the garden and also its limited size. But if the pupils were not afforded the same opportunity to work in the garden as elsewhere, it should be reported that, under the care of two professional gardeners, Netherlaw garden fulfilled a most useful function by yielding large supplies of fruits and vegetables for the use of the house throughout the year. With its extensive greenhouses, tomatoes were grown in such large quantities that not only Netherlaw House but other houses not so fortunate were supplied.

### SLOGARIE

Slogarie was probably the most inaccessible of all the houses requisitioned by the Council. It was opened on 21st February 1941, permission having been granted by the Department of Health to transfer to this house those girls at Holyrood and St Bonaventure's Secondary Schools who had been registered by their parents for evacuation. When inquiry was made at these schools it was learned that the parents of some of the registered senior girls for whom the house had been intended were reluctant to agree to any transference before bombing took place. Applications were made, however, on behalf of some 20 younger girls that they should be given the opportunity to live at Slogarie. As the house was ideally suited for use as a small residential secondary school for girls, with Laundry and Domestic Science facilities an outstanding feature, it was after the most careful consideration that the requests were granted and the necessary change made in the original proposals. As a result of this alteration in the plans, of the 30 pupils evacuated to Slogarie on the opening date only 10 girls were at the junior secondary stage; the remainder, ranging from 5 to 10 years of age, were primary pupils. Slogarie, intended for senior pupils, became a 'young house,' and, with the ages of the pupils ranging from 5 to 13 years, heavy demands were made upon the adaptability of the staff. This problem of wide variation in ages was much more familiar to the rural teacher in either a one- or two-teacher school than the teacher from a large Glasgow school accustomed to classes grouped in accordance with age or attainment, and at one stage; continuity in the teaching staff at Slogarie was essential if progress was to be made. But, owing to its inaccessibility from a village or bus route, continual requests were made by the teachers on duty at this house to be relieved at the end of a three months' spell.

Slogarie, a small modern mansion house standing in its own wooded policies in the Parish of Balmaglie, lies eleven miles from Castle-Douglas and about two miles from the road north from that burgh to

New Galloway. Restrictions upon the use of cars and petrol were not so stringent at the date of its requisition, and while it was recognised that certain complaints might be made regarding its remoteness, its perfect suitability as a hostel—no money was spent upon its adaptation—greatly influenced the Council, whose main aim was to ensure the preservation of the children from possible enemy bombing.

As already indicated, pupils from Slogarie and Cargen hostels returned to Glasgow at a rate much in excess of the other hostels instituted in the county, or, indeed from private billets. After a period of three months, however, this tendency ceased and advantage was taken of the supplementary evacuation scheme to complete the numbers. To date Slogarie houses a contented community whose members have become thoroughly accustomed to real rural conditions, making their one contact with outside affairs each Sunday when they are transported to Castle-Douglas for the service in the Roman Catholic church.

#### SPECIAL SCHOOLS

No report on the use of large houses in the Stewartry would be complete without some account of the three houses requisitioned on behalf of the Corporation of Glasgow to accommodate defective children. The teachers who were sent by the Glasgow Education Committee to staff these schools were specialists in this particular type of work and were thoroughly acquainted with the standard of attainment reached in Glasgow. It has been a singular feature of all the reports from these small special schools how greatly impressed the staffs have been with the marked improvement in the health of the pupils, in the physique, vitality and general wellbeing, and in the high standard of attainment reached in school subjects—a standard which they maintain would have been impossible had the pupils remained in Glasgow. So consistently has this view been expressed that it may be taken as well grounded.

#### AIRDS HOUSE

Airds House, offered by its owner shortly before the outbreak of war for any purpose for which it might be deemed suitable, was opened on 3rd September 1939, as a school/hostel, by a party of 40 physically defective boys. Improvement in general health was apparent from the opening date. With good food, regular exercise and careful supervision, the height, weight and general vitality of the boys improved, absences from school decreased and educational progress was assured.

Instruction in the subjects of the primary school was given. Pupils who had records of long absences from school owing to illness in hospital or at home and had many gaps in their education made rapid progress. While the wide range of ages of the pupils made it necessary

for the instruction to be given by individual methods, it should not be assumed that individual methods were solely responsible for the progress made. To the care and attention given to the health and wellbeing of each pupil by a devoted staff the success achieved in scholastic subjects should be attributed.

Of the pupils evacuated to Airds House approximately two-thirds of the total number suffer from incurable diseases, such as hip-joint disease, valvular disease of the heart, etc. These pupils have shown marked improvement in physique and general health. Of the remainder, suffering from ailments such as general debility, anaemia, weak chests, etc., progress in health has been outstanding. A few have been returned to Glasgow certified by the doctor as fit for attendance at an ordinary day school.

The parents have responded well to the opportunities given by the evacuation scheme and have co-operated willingly in all matters affecting the wellbeing of their children.

#### BARGALY

Sheltered by the Minnigaff hills and secluded in its own policies Bargaly House stands in Palnure Glen seven miles from Newton-Stewart. The house, long noted for the beauty of its wooded surroundings, was offered by its owner for evacuation purposes. It was occupied in February 1940 by myopic children, and in September of that year by a party of 35 mentally defective boys.

The gardener's house provides three suitable classrooms where a primary curriculum is followed. No instruction in practical subjects, other than gardening, has been found possible. In general, the teachers report that the health of the pupils has greatly improved, that this improvement has reacted favourably upon school subjects, and that a standard of attainment has been reached in one year that would have been impossible without two or three years' close study in Glasgow. The pupils have taken to gardening eagerly, and may be seen cultivating small plots in odd corners of the ground. Signs of initiative are not wanting. For supervision a monitor is appointed to each dormitory. He supervises the pupils, ensures that his charges make their beds properly and that the dormitory is left in a proper condition. To maintain interest in this task a system of awarding points has been adopted, which has proved very successful. Each morning there is keen rivalry among the monitors that their particular dormitory should be judged the neatest and cleanest room for that day.

The pupils have settled to rural conditions and have taken a great interest in natural objects. Probably the greatest discovery made by the pupils has been that a tree is a 'living' thing. This fact has so impressed them that no damage has been caused by them to either trees or shrubs in the Bargaly woods.

### GELSTON CASTLE

Standing on a slight eminence two miles south of Castle-Douglas to command the broad sweep of the Dee Valley northwards to the Kells Range, Gelston Castle was requisitioned as a school/hostel early in 1940. The party of 40 mentally defective boys, their teachers and domestic staff, housed at Gelston Castle had been evacuated on the outbreak of war to a Youth Hostel in Perthshire, which had proved unsuitable for winter use. When requests were made to the Council to procure accommodation, a list of the available houses in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, known to be sufficiently commodious, was forwarded for the information of the Glasgow Education Authority. With the consent of the Department of Health and with the approval of the owner, the Castle was requisitioned as a school/hostel. It provided dormitory accommodation for 40 boys, bedrooms for the staff, dining-rooms, and, in addition, classrooms and practical instruction rooms.

Opened on 8th March 1940, the school provides instruction in the primary subjects; practical instruction in Shoe-repairing and Tailoring is given by trade teachers seconded for this purpose. Gardening has been added to the list of school subjects and has made such an appeal that, as at Bargaly, the pupils imitate the processes they have observed during the school gardening lesson and attempt the cultivation of small personal gardens.

As at Bargaly, the pupils have shown a very keen interest in their school lessons, and on occasion have asked to be admitted to their classrooms for instruction during the long vacations. Two boys recently requested that special instruction should be given to them in reading. To supervise the dormitories monitors have been appointed, who have accepted their duties very seriously and are very proud when their particular dormitory has been classed first in the weekly competition.

Owing to the shortage of water during the summer of 1940 it was necessary for the boys to wash in a small stream passing through the grounds. Aided by the staff they made a small pool for swimming purposes, which so impressed the County Architect that he made a personal appeal to the County Hostel Sub-Committee that the sum of £5 should be granted to this Hostel to purchase the necessary materials to make a permanent bathing pool. He gave it as his opinion that, judging by the efforts of the pupils and staff which he had already witnessed, the results would justify this outlay. His confidence has not been misplaced. Swimming is now a feature of the summer activities of the school.

The pupils have settled down to life in the country and appreciate that they must not destroy birds' nests or hurt young animals. The history of this development is interesting. After a period of harrying

of birds' nests the teachers spoke to the pupils with such effect that they, of their own accord, appointed 'policemen' and built in the corner of the grounds a 'police-station'—a wigwam—wherein they incarcerate offenders. There has been no known case of interference with bird life since that time.

As at Bargaly the boys have become more alert and observant, ask the teachers the names of trees and are interested in animal life, particularly in rabbits, squirrels, and weasels.

The staff, upon whom the duty of supervision remains constant, are unanimously of the opinion that Gelston Castle has made them aware of the potentialities of large houses for the care and attention of mental defectives.

The chief difficulty with parents hitherto has been to persuade them to part with their children at an early age. Experience of their co-operation with the staff at Gelston Castle would indicate that the problem is not insoluble.

#### GENERAL CONCLUSIONS ON USE OF LARGE HOUSES

A review of the circumstances which led the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright County Council to forward their resolutions to the Secretary of State for Scotland regarding the use of large houses for the reception and accommodation of pupils under the supplementary evacuation scheme, will show that it was never within contemplation that residential schools and hostels would be in existence in the county four years after the outbreak of war, or that the Council would accept responsibility for their care and management and would provide for them all the social services including medical inspection, dental treatment, and library facilities. When the resolutions were formulated the aim of the Council was to maintain and if possible to improve the health of the children committed to their care. The use of large houses specially adapted and prepared for the accommodation of the pupils and staffed by teachers who had known the pupils in Glasgow and were trusted by them, seemed to afford the best conditions under which this ambition could be achieved.

The policy adopted by the Council, however, provided a unique opportunity to judge the effects of residential-school conditions upon pupils and staff who, but for the evacuation scheme, would not have enjoyed this privilege. As might be expected, the personality of the teachers-in-charge was the determining factor which made for success. Their enthusiasm, their willingness to accept additional responsibilities, their adaptability, their ability to obtain the best results from the staff, were qualities which made for a happy house or, when they were lacking, led to disappointment. In such matters the children took

their lead from the teachers. Tribute should be paid to the Scottish-trained teachers who, lacking experience of residential-school conditions, by their very devotion to their duties, made certain the success of the school hostels in the Stewartry, and thereby created a deep and lasting affection in the minds of their charges for the particular house—Cally, Milton or Netherlaw—in which they had been accommodated. Certain factors, however, beyond the control of the teachers were contributory to success or failure and should be mentioned.

#### *Distance of the school from a burgh or village*

Cally House and Milton Park have been fortunate. They are conveniently situated within walking distance of the burgh of Gatehouse and the village of Dalry respectively. The pupils are thus able to make purchases personally in the shops and retain their feeling of contact with outside affairs. While no restrictions are made upon the number of outings, a visit to Gatehouse or Dalry is regarded as quite an event.

No village is conveniently situated to either Netherlaw or Slogarie. The nearest burghs, Castle-Douglas and Kirkcudbright, are seven and eleven miles distant respectively, so that all transport has to be undertaken by private car. Apart from the cost involved the feeling of isolation pressed heavily upon the teachers, made undue demands upon their leisure time and offered few opportunities of escape from the strain of constant supervision. This fact was recognised by the Department of Health when they made a special allowance to one of the teachers for the upkeep of her car on condition that it would be made available in cases of emergency, for shopping purposes, and for the transport of teachers and pupils.

This concession by the Department of Health afforded proof that a residential school should be conveniently situated for transport by rail or bus and should be within walking distance—not more than two miles—from the social life of a village.

#### *Accommodation for private study*

At Cally House and Milton Park, where the pupils have been presented for the Leaving Certificate, no room could be set aside for the exclusive use of the senior pupils. Mention has been made of 'preparation' and its beneficial effect upon educational progress. The close and careful study required for the Senior Leaving Certificate of the Scottish Education Department calls for private study on the part of the pupil. And it is here that hostel life is at a disadvantage. As a rule no room can be reserved for the exclusive use of senior pupils. The need of accommodation for private study will be granted readily, although it is not fully appreciated that large houses with sufficient accommodation for dormitories, staff rooms, commonrooms, recreation

rooms and dining halls are at a premium. In general the experience of the Stewartry in this matter would suggest that huts are best adapted for use as classrooms and for study purposes. The scarcity of timber, and building restrictions, however, owing to the exigencies of the war, have made their erection impossible.

#### *Individual rooms for the staff*

At no single hostel in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright has it been found possible to allocate a room to each teacher on the staff. Whatever the discomforts which might be accepted by teachers during war conditions no long-term policy would succeed unless provision was made for comfortable staff bedrooms and commonrooms.

#### *The prefect system*

As suggested previously the prefect system seems to operate most successfully with pupils over 15 years of age. At Milton Park the experiment of appointing prefects in the third year of the secondary course is to be made next session. In view of the comparative failure at Netherlaw when pupils at that stage were appointed prefects, the experiment will be watched with interest.

#### *Representative variety*

The first year at Cally was probably the most interesting. Pupils were drawn from most of the secondary schools of Glasgow with a wide variety of interests and were sturdy representatives of children from the best working- and middle-class homes. They responded well to residential-school conditions, they accepted their new responsibilities gladly, and gave positive proof in their behaviour and in their enthusiasm for Cally House that the many-sided development aimed at in Scottish secondary education could be transferred to a residential school without the loss of any of the traditional characteristics.

It was the success of Cally House that gave confidence to the County Council to proceed with their further proposals to use large houses for evacuation purposes.

#### *Age of selection*

At what age have the children benefited most from living in a residential school? The school/hostels, it must be remembered, were established to overcome problems arising from the operation of the Government evacuation scheme. It was neither the intention nor the desire of the Council to conduct an experiment based on the boarding-school system or to make an investigation into the age at which pupils most readily respond to residential-school conditions. On the evidence available, therefore, it would be misleading to make any definite pronouncement.

The Department of Health for Scotland, in May 1940, issued *Memorandum E.V.S.* 8 dealing with the care, management and selection of children for hostels under the Government evacuation scheme. The *Memorandum* recommended that children under 8 years of age should be accommodated in private billets rather than in hostels since it would be difficult if not impossible to give children of that age in a hostel the amount of individual attention they required. While the members of the County Hostel Sub-Committee were in agreement with this view it was found impossible to carry out the suggestion in actual practice. Many of the hostels accommodated children under 8 years of age. As already mentioned, the original proposals in respect of Slogarie Hostel were modified to meet the desire of parents that younger children should be accommodated; at Milton Park the youngest pupil was 7 years of age and there were a few between the ages of 8 and 9 years, while in the special schools there were children between the ages of 6 and 8 years. When the question was put to the teachers in the special residential schools, they expressed the opinion that it was highly advantageous to the education of children suffering from mental or physical defect that they should be brought to a residential school at the earliest possible age. The general position was well summed up by the head teacher at Bargaly: 'All the pupils, irrespective of age, benefit from residential-school conditions. Their health improves and progress is very noticeable in their education. It is not quite clear, however, whether the progress they make in educational subjects is the result of improvement in health or of the exceptional educational opportunities made possible through smaller classes.' This conclusion is not surprising. The stimulus of country life, improvement in health and general physique, careful supervision, small classes, regularity of meals and prescribed hours for sleep are factors, very pertinent to the point at issue, present in a marked degree in a residential school.

Education, however, connotes much more than instruction in school subjects, marked improvement in health and physique, or even the devoted care of teachers which characterised the school/hostels. It must provide a suitable environment for the unfolding of the personality and the development of the character of the pupil on broad, generous lines. An education which does not attune the child to the highest thoughts of man will have failed in its main purpose. And it is in the school/hostels where the majority of the pupils are at the secondary stage that character training is most evident, and the qualities of leadership, self-reliance, initiative, respect for the rights of others, affection and regard for younger pupils seem to be most readily elicited. Children at the primary stage fortunate enough to be accommodated in residential schools improved in educational subjects and health, whereas pupils at the secondary stage also developed personality and character.

Keeping in view the nature of the experiment in the Stewartry, it is believed that children benefited most from living in a residential school when they were over 12 years of age.

#### *Period of residence*

How long should a pupil remain at a school/hostel to gain full advantage? No general pronouncement can be made on this point for many factors require careful analysis and close consideration before even a tentative answer can be given to the question. The personality of the teachers-in-charge, their enthusiasm, their adaptability, their powers of management over teachers and domestic staff, and their capacity to provide a happy homelike atmosphere for the pupils entrusted to their charge are matters of first importance. In like manner the attitude of the pupil is an important factor. His personality, his ability to adapt himself to residential-school conditions, his co-operation with his colleagues and the school staff, and his willingness to undertake duties connected with house, school or garden determine whether he will reap full advantage from living in a residential school. If the absence of homesickness is any criterion, the pupils in the hostels were more than willing partners in the experiment.

It will be remembered that a Former Pupils' Club was instituted by the senior pupils of Cally House School after they had enjoyed residential-school conditions for nine months. At the date of the formation of this Club these same pupils petitioned for a sixth form to be provided so that they could study intensively for their University careers and remain at Cally House School for another year. After this request had been considered in all its bearings the officials of both Glasgow and the Stewartry Education Authorities reluctantly refused the request on the ground that there was a long waiting list of pupils in Glasgow desirous of enrolling at Cally House School. This petition indicated, however, that these pupils felt one year's residence in a residential school was too short a period for them to gain full advantage. A similar request was made by girls in the fifth year of the secondary stage at Milton Park after a period of one year's residence. In private conversation the senior pupils of both these schools gave as their opinion that an apprenticeship of approximately one year's residence was required before they became accustomed to the new conditions of a residential school. During the second year they were of the opinion that they would have gained sufficient experience to co-operate actively with the teaching staff in the creation of proper community spirit and the production of a healthy school tone and friendly atmosphere. It is suggested that while benefit accrues almost immediately to pupils in a hostel full advantage cannot be reaped without a period of two years' residence.

*Relation of school to community*

Partly as a result of school concerts, garden fêtes and dramatic or musical entertainments in aid of funds for the war effort or for local charities, and partly to the growing call for assistance from farms where there is a shortage of labour, a close bond of friendship and of personal interest has been created between many people in the neighbourhood and the pupils residing in the hostels. The activities of the residential schools have become matters of considerable interest to the communities in which they are situated. The effect of this interest has been gratifying; the spirit of good will is increasingly shown towards the staff and pupils. A dual purpose has been served. The pupils feel that they can play an important part in the life of their new community, while the outside public realise more and more the benefits resulting from the institution of these hostels. This reciprocal interest is a most pleasing feature of the residential schools in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.

## A SCOTTISH CAMP SCHOOL

ON 25th May 1939 Parliament passed the Camps Act, authorising the expenditure of £1,200,000 on the construction, maintenance, and management of camps of a permanent character. This money was paid to two companies recognised for the purpose, the National Camps Corporation for England and Wales, and the Scottish Special Housing Association for Scotland. The Camps Corporation received £1,032,000, with which they built 31 camps; the Housing Association received the balance—£168,000—and built 5 camps.

The scheme was intended to provide Education Authorities with an opportunity to send parties of children to the camps during the summer months, both during the school session and during vacations. It was intended that during their stay in the camps the children would have little formal instruction of the ordinary type, but a maximum of fresh air and sunshine, while their activities would be designed to take full advantage of the rural surroundings of the camps.

Edinburgh Education Committee were in cordial agreement with the Government's proposals, and early steps were taken by representatives of the Government and the Committee to visit suggested sites in the south-east of Scotland. Two were chosen: one at Broomlee near West Linton, and the other on the Corporation's estate at Middleton near Gorebridge, where the Committee already had a home and school for convalescent children.

Before the building of either camp could be completed the country was at war, and the camps were used, not for their primary purpose, but for the evacuation of children from the cities. This possibility had been foreseen, but the camps had not been designed to meet it, and many difficult problems arose from this. Instead of being birds of passage, staff and pupils were transferred for an indefinite period to the camps, which in effect became country boarding schools.

With the children in permanent residence the numbers had to be strictly limited. The situation in the early days of 1940, however, made it imperative that the number to be accommodated should be as large as possible. There was considerable difficulty in finding billets for children whose parents wished them to be evacuated. Children were being returned from reception areas because householders found them difficult, or because re-billeting was necessary and no more billets could be found. In order to allow the camps to be used by children of both sexes, it was decided that the children to be sent should as a rule

be between the ages of 8 and 12, though a few children between the ages of 5 and 8 might be included, particularly if they had older brothers or sisters at the camp. The choice of primary rather than secondary pupils made it possible to accommodate much greater numbers, but other factors pointed in the same direction, for example, the absence of facilities such as laboratories and workshops, which are almost essential for secondary education as we know it. It is interesting to note, however, that the opposite decision was reached in England, where the camps were used as senior central or secondary schools.

#### GENERAL ARRANGEMENTS

On 15th and 19th January 1940 representatives of the Department of Health for Scotland, the Edinburgh Education Committee, and the Scottish Special Housing Association attended meetings at which the general arrangements for running the camps were discussed. The following excerpts from the minutes of these meetings will indicate some of these arrangements:

'Preference should be given to those children who would benefit most in health from residence in a camp, *i.e.* children who are debilitated, but no physically or mentally defective children or children with active tuberculosis or other active infection are to be included.'

'The Education Committee would arrange for the selection, examination and conveyance of the children to and from the camps under the evacuation scheme and would be responsible for the educational arrangements of the camps including the supply of teachers.'

'The Housing Association would be responsible for the general management and for the domestic arrangements of the camps.'

'The Association would stand in the same relation to the children attending the camp as a householder to unaccompanied children billeted with him under the Government evacuation scheme, and except in so far as it might be expedient to make special arrangements on particular points, would normally provide for the children what the householder is required to provide, namely lodging, board, and care.'

'The domestic staff would be responsible for waking the children in the morning and supervising their dressing. During school hours the children would be under the care of the teachers, who would also on a rota system provide supervision of the children at meals. After school hours the teachers would continue to supervise the children at 'homework' or organised recreational activities until, say, 5.30 p.m.'

From then until bed-time at 7.30 p.m. the children would be free to spend their time as they pleased under the general supervision on a rota system of some of the teachers. The bedding of the children would be the concern of the domestic staff, and the general supervision of the dormitories until the teachers themselves went to bed would be exercised by teachers who would take this duty in rotation. The teachers would sleep in cubicles, one at either end of each dormitory.

'On Saturdays and Sundays teachers would be responsible for the same hours as on other days, on a rota system. No formal instruction would be given and there would be an effort to get the services of voluntary workers to relieve the teachers, particularly by way of concerts, cinema shows, etc.'

'In view of the demands to be made on the time and energies of the teachers, considerably in excess of those made under normal terms of service, it was agreed to recommend that they should be given free board in the camps.'

'Discipline both within and beyond school hours would be the concern of the head teacher, to whom the camp manager would report any cases of misbehaviour which might come particularly to his notice.'

#### DUAL CONTROL

The most serious difficulties in the camps have probably been those arising from the dual nature of their control. The interposition of an *ad hoc* body between the State and the local authorities was an unfortunate step. As the camp schools are at present organised, head teacher and camp manager have independent commands, and neither will defer to the authority of the other. In effect this means that there is no head, and when the almost inevitable conflict of opinion arises there is an impasse. The head teacher may refer the matter to the Director of Education, but the Director cannot question the camp manager, over whom he has no authority whatever. Although the matter at issue may be of the most trivial nature, it must be reduced to writing, and there must be either a meeting or a lengthy correspondence with the officials of the Housing Association. The Secretary of the Association may question the camp manager, but he also gets a one-sided story, as he has no right to cross-examine the head teacher. The outcome is probably a compromise which satisfies no one.

Difficulties arose from this in all the camps. In November 1940 the three Education Committees concerned (those of Glasgow, Edinburgh and Dundee) made strong representations to the Housing Association in favour of unified control, and suggested that, even if the management could not be handed over completely to the Education Committee,

there should be one person in charge of each camp, and that person should be the head teacher. The Association took the view that the difficulties encountered were merely those incidental to the early stages of a new venture, and that they were in process of being rapidly overcome. Unfortunately this did not prove to be the case. Repeated appeals have since been made to the Secretary of State for Scotland, but after postponing judgment for an experimental period he has decided against the Education Committees, and the unsatisfactory dual arrangement continues.

The problem is not peculiar to Scotland, and the dual arrangement in the English camp schools has been criticised more than once in Parliament. A statement on behalf of the English Directors of Education, published in *Education* for 1st May 1942, contains this passage:

‘It has been shown clearly that the dual responsibility is a grave defect in the administration of these camp schools. Local authorities are unable to get desirable and urgent improvements carried out and head masters and mistresses have continual friction with the camp manager over the day-to-day control and amenities of the camp.’

#### THE CHILDREN

The first of the Scottish camp schools—Broomlee—was declared open on 26th April 1940 by the Right Honourable John Colville, Secretary of State for Scotland. Ninety-four children had been in residence since 22nd April with a staff of four teachers and the head master. The pupils in the first group responded well to training, and marked improvements in their manners, bearing and speech soon became obvious. The fact that the staff lived with the pupils all the time made it possible to correct bad personal habits which for lack of time often go unchecked in a day school.

In the fifth week 111 children were sent to the camp, and two weeks later a group of 46 arrived. The children of the latter group were a problem from the day of their arrival. Many had been returned to the city from private billets because of their behaviour; many had come because a complete outfit of clothing was provided if required; some came to get a cheap summer holiday. They did not mix with the other children, and boldly stated that they did not want to learn manners or to eat properly at table. When children of the first two groups fell out, they used to insult one another with the question, ‘Did you come with the third batch?’ Fortunately for the others, few of these children stayed long, though they remained long enough to cause the withdrawal from the camp of quite a number of children of a better type.

It was soon found that children under 8 were too young for the camp life. The youngest children were not sent home, as many had older brothers or sisters in the camp, but as they grew older the infant division disappeared, as no more children under 8 were admitted.

### THE STAFF

The maximum number of children on the roll at any one time was 298, reached during the first term. The staff then numbered twelve, seven women and five men. Naturally the teachers attracted to this work were young; the head master's age was 35; the ages of the assistants ranged from 20 to 29. One woman had six years' experience as a teacher; one woman and one man had each two years'; four others had a few months' and the remaining five were beginners. Their inexperience was perhaps not altogether a disadvantage, for they proved most adaptable, and tackled with enthusiasm all kinds of duties, many of which had little relation to the kind of teaching for which their college training had prepared them. Unfortunately before many months had passed all the men on the teaching staff except the head master had been called up for military service. The women have, however, taken to such activities as supervising football with a good deal of success.

Staff holidays present rather a difficult problem. During the first summer no teacher had more than a fortnight's holiday. With generous staffing, holidays could be staggered (and to some extent this has been done), but this is not a good solution, since the children suffer from the lack of continuity of teaching. With the help of volunteers from the teaching staff of the city and of the County of Midlothian it has been possible during the last three years to arrange for each member of the regular staff to be away from the camp for six weeks each summer. Students from Moray House Training College have also been very helpful in undertaking relief duties.

### ACCOMMODATION

With the peace-time use of the camps in mind, and in the expectation that the children would spend much of their time out of doors, the builders had provided classrooms for only half the number that could be accommodated in the dormitories. There were six dormitories, each for 60 children, and at one end of each dormitory was a classroom for 30 children. Staff accommodation was quite inadequate for a staff who were to make the camp their permanent home. Each teacher had a tiny cubicle at one end of a children's dormitory, so small that it was never used except for sleeping. One rather small commonroom was used by both men and women for sitting, dining, smoking, reading,

writing, sewing, correction of exercises, listening to wireless or gramophone.

An old mansion house in the grounds was converted to provide three classrooms and a workshop. An additional staffroom was also obtained here but unfortunately had to be abandoned after the first summer owing to the state of the roof. A dormitory was converted into two more classrooms, and the accommodation figure of the camp was reduced from 360 to 300. Later conversions to provide other much needed accommodation further reduced this figure to 200.

The provision of additional accommodation for the staff is a matter of some urgency. It is most desirable that the teachers for the sake of their health should have, in rotation, an opportunity to sleep away from the dormitories, and that during their leisure some privacy should be possible. The accommodation provided for the head master is suitable only for a bachelor. It consists of a two-roomed house, and one of the rooms has to be used as an office for transacting school business and for keeping records.

The ground on which the camp had been built was badly drained, and although improvements have been effected it is not yet entirely satisfactory in this respect. During the first winter it became a sea of mud, with two quite large stretches of water, known to the pupils as the Sea of Galilee and the Black Sea, and used by them for sailing boats. The Education Committee provided a supply of clogs, which proved a godsend, but recreation in bad weather remained something of a problem. From the first days of the camp the head master pleaded for a playground, playsheds, and at least one large hut for recreation purposes. In an early report he says: 'The pitiful attempts made by the children to skate or trundle hoops, etc., on the narrow concrete paths are very disheartening to all who wish to see the children really happy.' After two years' delay a recreation hut and a tiny square of tarmacadam were provided, but playsheds are still lacking.

#### CAMP ACTIVITIES

Until recently the only place available for recreation in wet weather was the small assembly hall, which was used for singsongs, entertainments provided by the pupils and staff themselves, dancing and party games, Scout and Guide meetings, and film shows. The cinema has been a regular and popular treat since the beginning of the camp, and is used both for entertainment and for instruction. Exhibitions of choral singing and country dancing have been given on visitors' days, and the parents have been most enthusiastic.

One of the classrooms is used as a silence room where the children during their leisure time may read or write home to their parents.

There is a fairly large library of children's books, obtained as gifts from schools in Edinburgh and from people interested in the camp.

Outdoor activities are many and varied, and include country rambles, collection of natural history specimens, collection of salvage throughout the parish, and the care of pets, of whom Tarzan, the pony, and Patricia, the goat, have been the most popular. Equipment for games was at first lacking and difficult to obtain, but it was found possible to transfer to the camp some swings which had been taken down from city playgrounds in order to make room for air-raid shelters. These were very much appreciated. During the summer of 1940, 18 children from the camp took part in the County Interscholastic Sports at Peebles, and did very well indeed. The following year the number competing rose to 34, and the girls won the Ballantyne Cup for relay racing and the boys won the Thomson Cup in the association football tournament.

#### VISITORS

Broomlee is situated only some fifteen miles from Edinburgh. In the early days of the camp, before transport difficulties had become acute, this was much too convenient, and every Saturday and every Sunday the camp was invaded by a horde of visitors. In August 1940 the camp manager estimated the average number per Sunday at about 100. Not only was this a nuisance at the time, making organised activities for the pupils almost impossible, but it was followed by a fever of discontent among the pupils—both those who had had visitors and those who had not—and running away was fairly common. The younger pupils sometimes became homesick when mother called. Sometimes mother herself was overcome with emotion when she saw her child. In either case the result not infrequently was that the child was withdrawn from the camp and taken home on the most trivial excuse, the head master being asked later to find and forward garments that had been left behind. The medical officer in a report written about this time comments on 'sickness with abdominal pains, which frequently arises at week-ends and is accounted for by the visitors who bring food to the children.' He also had to complain of parents who visited the camp at times when they had infectious disease at home (in one case measles).

A letter was sent to the parents of all the children intimating the restriction of visiting to the first Sunday of each month and the immediately preceding Saturday. Provision was made, of course, for visits at other times by members of H.M. Forces who were home on leave, or in cases of serious illness. On the whole the restriction has been loyally observed by the parents, with a great increase in the happiness and contentment of the children as a consequence.

## TURNOVER

The following table shows the number of children admitted to the roll and the numbers removed from it during each term since the camp opened:

	1940	Summer Holiday	Session 1940-41			Summer Holiday	Session 1941-42			Summer Holiday
			3rd Term	1st	2nd		1st	2nd	3rd	
Admitted	303	36	57	46	82	8	27	24	22	14
Left	27	56	107	74	26	18	70	39	15	34
Roll at end of period	276	256	206	178	234	224	181	166	173	153

From the opening of the camp to mid-September 1942 the total number of children admitted was 644, of whom some had been admitted two or three times. The roll at the latter date was 203, so that 441 children had left and not returned. Part of the figure is accounted for by the normal process of school-leaving at the age of 14, and a considerable number of children left at the age of 12 because the camp could not provide a suitable course of secondary education for them. The turnover is admittedly rapid. The figures would compare very favourably, however, with corresponding figures for children evacuated to private billets.

## RESULTS

Of the 203 children then on the roll 85 had been at the camp since the summer term of 1940. The children who have had a long spell in residence form the best test of the value and effectiveness of the camp régime. They have vastly improved in health, in their bearing, in their table manners, in their behaviour in church and at their parties. Their dietary habits are better. Many children would not eat fish when they came to camp; all do so now. In the early days of the camp many mothers assured the head master that he was wasting his time trying to persuade their children to take porridge; now almost all of them ask for a second helping. The only failure has been with cocoa, which many children still dislike in spite of the persuasion of the staff.

The children have developed a sense of social responsibility. The living together is in itself an education, and the camp-school situation provides an opportunity for social training that does not occur in an ordinary school. The method used has been to concentrate on one evil until it is eliminated. In this way bad language, coarseness of speech, marking of walls, abuse of lavatories, destruction of trees and shrubs, window-breaking and litter-throwing have been successfully dealt with.

Enuresis was a serious difficulty in the early days of the camp. The worst cases were removed either to their homes or to a residential school provided by the West Lothian Education Authority for billeting cases of this type. Parents of prospective evacuees were questioned on this point, and if they admitted that a child was a bedwetter he was not sent to camp. It soon became known to the children in the camp that one way of getting sent home was to wet the bed, and quite a number of cases of deliberate wetting occurred among children who were homesick. This phase passed, however, and by simple common-sense treatment of the remaining cases the problem has almost disappeared. Habit training during the day, restriction of fluid intake in the evening, and rousing the children during the night have proved effective in most cases. It is now accepted, however, that chronic cases are better removed from the camps so that proper medical and other care can be taken.

The figures of percentage school attendance are:

Summer term 1940	.	.	.	97·7	per cent.
Session 1940-41	.	.	.	93	"
Session 1941-42	.	.	.	97	"

Figures such as these are never attained by city schools. Some of the attendance problems of a day school, of course, do not arise where the children are resident. Nevertheless, these figures indicate a very high standard of health. During the first winter some of the younger children suffered badly from chilblains, but there has been an almost complete absence of catarrh, in spite of the fact that the first two winters during which the camp was open were quite exceptionally severe. The lower percentage of attendance for session 1940-41 was due mainly to bad outbreaks of scabies.

### THE FUTURE

The arrangements for secondary education are at present giving some concern. So long as the number of older pupils was small, they could be transported to the County secondary schools, but there are now 91 pupils at the secondary stage, and it has become essential to make provision for them at the camp if they are not to be billeted elsewhere or sent home. A rural course is being developed including Handwork for the boys and Domestic Science for the girls. It may be necessary to separate the sexes, so that beyond the primary stage Broomlee may be reserved for boys only.

No decision has yet been taken regarding the use to which the camp is to be put after the war. It is possible that the Education Committee may return to their original plans, but more probable that there will

be considerable modifications. The energetic and enthusiastic head master, Mr Kennedy, has ideas on the subject, which may be given without comment in his own words:

'A camp school should be established at Broomlee with a permanent roll of approximately 100 pupils. No difficulty would be experienced in enrolling this number, as even to-day it is doubtful if 10 per cent. of our children are evacuees in the sense of being sent here to escape bombing. They are almost entirely with us for other reasons—father and mother at business, father and mother living apart, widowers' and widows' children, and, sad to say, unwanted children. This admittedly gives us a very mixed community, but is that not to be desired? The children at one end of the scale help the less fortunate and they in turn have much to teach their companions about the struggle for existence.'

'A permanent staff would be necessary and would require to be very carefully selected and honestly enthusiastic about the work to be attempted. Their classroom ability would require to be of a high standard because it is here that so much criticism is brought to bear on such educational experiments.'

'To this permanent school the city might send another 100 children as temporary pupils. They would leave their classes in the town, come to us, and return after perhaps three months here to rejoin the classes they left. Generally such a break in the past has involved the retardation of the pupil; hence the unpopularity of such schemes with parents, city head teachers, and even the pupils themselves. Each class would contain a nucleus of permanent pupils who would keep the grades correct, and would do the social training unconsciously. One sees it happening every day between our long-service pupils and newcomers.'

'During the holidays the camps could be used by youth organisations, or for a holiday scheme such as was originally planned. I would fix the ages from 7 to 11+ for the pupils, but the campers might be any age, stage, sex, or religion.'

## APPENDIX

## TIME-TABLES AND DUTIES

*Child's time-table*

7.30 a.m.	Reveille; fold down blankets to air them; wash and dress.
8.15	Breakfast.
8.45	Tidy lockers. Older pupils make their beds and by rotation act as a cleansing department for the camp.
8.55 to 12.25 p.m.	School.
12.40	Dinner (after washing).
1.25 to 3.30	School.
3.45	Tea.
4 to 6	Games, walks, free time with pets, etc.
6	Supper.
6.30	Preparation until sprays at according to age.
7.15, 7.30 or 7.45	Younger pupils to bed. Older pupils more preparation or entertainment.
8.30	Older pupils news bulletin.
9	Bed for older pupils.
9.15	

*Time-table of head teacher or staff teacher <sup>1</sup>*

8.15 a.m.	Supervise breakfast.
8.45	Locker inspection.
9	Prayers in hall.
9.30	Inspect lavatories and buildings generally.
10.55 to 11.10	Supervision during interval.
12.40 p.m.	Supervise dinner.
3.45	Supervise tea.
6	Supervise supper.
8 to 9.15	Teaching, supervising, or entertaining older pupils.
11	Walk round camp.

*Duties of teachers*

1. Teach a class of 20 to 25 pupils on the normal Edinburgh scheme.
2. Supervise preparation work for approximately four hours per week.
3. Take charge of dormitory on alternate nights from 8.30 p.m. to 7.30 a.m.
4. Remain in the vicinity of the school on alternate week-ends and during this duty week-end supervise the activities in rotation. The time on duty amounts to eleven hours, in four spells.
5. Supervise the 4 to 6 p.m. free time on one day per week.

On the week-end off duty the teacher leaves the school at 3.15 p.m. on Friday and does not return until 10.15 a.m. on the Monday.

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<sup>1</sup> Each member of the staff acts as staff teacher for one week in the term. The duties consist of carrying on for head teacher when he has visitors, or is called to the telephone, or is out of camp.

## NERSTON RESIDENTIAL CLINIC: AN EXPERIMENT IN CHILD GUIDANCE

### INTRODUCTION

At the outbreak of war Glasgow possessed four Child Guidance Clinics, two under the direct control of the Education Committee and two voluntary. They have since been affiliated and three more have been opened. Reports from reception areas showed that a number of children were causing serious trouble and the staff of the Corporation Clinics were sent out to investigate and advise. In some cases, after working for days on a particular problem, it was necessary to advise that certain children were not billetable either in private houses or in ordinary hostels. A special hostel for such cases was then first considered.

### HOSTEL FOR PROBLEM CHILDREN

It was not, however, until April 1940 that a hostel for problem children was finally decided upon as part of the City's Child Guidance Service, and not till 26th September 1940 that Nerston Residential Clinic was opened.

The house is seven miles from Glasgow. Pre-war it was a summer holiday home for children but had been used by the military for several months. There are three dormitories, bathroom, two bedrooms and a staff bathroom on the top floor; dining-room, recreation room, domestic bedroom, staff sitting-dining-room, office, store, kitchen and scullery are on the ground floor. A children's cloakroom adjoins the recreation room. Furniture was supplied from requisitioned buildings and has from time to time been added to as supplies became available. From the opening, hospital beds and double sheets have been used.

No special staff was provided for Nerston. The whole venture was regarded as an experiment which the Child Guidance staff had voluntarily undertaken, and they agreed to staff the house themselves. For the first six weeks five of the staff went into residence, but the superintendent had to take clinics in town three times weekly. The skeleton staff left in town gave occasional assistance in the evenings and at week-ends. When it became obvious that the experiment had succeeded, the situation was regularised. A fully qualified and experienced teacher-psychologist was put permanently in charge. She is assisted by two teacher-psychologists, a junior and a senior who are transferred from the city's clinic staff for periods of not less than three months and not more

than one year. The other permanent member of the staff is the house-mother. She was for two years clerk-receptionist in the Corporation Clinics, had done considerable home visiting, and had shown ability in handling children and parents. She is a widow with a grown-up family, and is popularly known among the children as 'Mammie X.' Since March 1941 a fire-watcher has been provided each night from the city staff.

The house has accommodation for 38 children, 19 boys and 19 girls. The largest number of pupils at any one period has been 44, the smallest number 32; the average number over eighteen months is 36. There is always a waiting list.

There are five domestics, sometimes three resident and two daily; sometimes two resident and three daily. Washing is done in the house.

#### SELECTION

The original selection of children for the experiment was governed by three criteria: the urgency of the child's need, the likelihood of improvement, and the insistence of parents on evacuation. It was, therefore, necessary to eliminate certain types from more than 200 possibles. All children were therefore examined for intelligence and mental defectives were refused. Borderline defectives, with the exception of two cases, were also refused, the very great urgency of the child's need being the extenuating factor in these two cases. Thirteen-year-old boys who were giving trouble in evacuation were also examined. In the majority of cases it was found that they were simply obstreperous and badly trained and had been in the care of individuals unable to control them properly. There was no genuine psychological problem. Provision was made for them in hostels for boys under the control of men.

Appendix I shows the type of cases to date; Appendix II gives sex and age-range. It is necessary to emphasise that all cases were serious psychological problems. By way of illustration, one child was returned from a convalescent home because his fits of rage were so violent that, although 11 years of age and of normal intelligence, he had attempted to cut another child's throat. A girl of 7 years was in such an anxious condition that she had completely bitten the lapels off two of her coats. A boy of 8 years had eaten his own faeces. Another girl of 12 years had been so hysterical that the local doctor in the reception area had been forced to give sedatives so that she and others could rest. Most of these children had been in several different billets but without success. There was no attempt to make the job easy by filling up with mild cases. In fact, looking back on it from a distance of three years, the attempt was perhaps foolhardy.

### GENERAL SCHEME

It should be stated that no member of the staff had any previous experience of residential work. This had advantages as well as disadvantages for the experiment was not tied to precedent and mistakes sometimes proved very instructive. All the staff had experience of clinical work, with some extending over ten years. The general idea was to establish a family unit and attempt to carry out the instructions usually given to parents by the clinicians. The clinics suffered from shortage of male staff and could not spare any men for Nerston, but the homes of the children were suffering also from the absence of the fathers, either with the Forces or through long hours of work. The situations were comparable.

General principles laid down may be summarised as follows:

1. Security, affection and discipline are fundamental needs of childhood and must be provided.
2. Self-confidence and stability are dependent on achievement, therefore normal schooling should be aided by intensive and specialised tuition, especially in cases of backwardness.
3. The understanding that comes from intimate and accurate knowledge is needed for the adjustment of the unstable child.

Nerston is therefore first and foremost a home, then a school, and finally a clinic. Each case is thoroughly investigated before admission is granted and the folio which accompanies the child contains the following data: mental age, intelligence quotient, achievement level in Reading, Spelling and Arithmetic, school report, evacuation report, reports of medical and psychiatric examinations, emotional test results, history as far as can be obtained, and notes on parents and home. To this is added a general diagnosis of the case and line of treatment advised. It would probably therefore be impossible to establish another Nerston unless there was a clinical service behind it to furnish this information when the child enters the house. (Appendix IV gives intelligence quotients.)

Taking the scheme in greater detail, the first idea was to give security to these children who were obviously drifting in a sea of their own emotion, in a world so disrupted that their landmarks were gone. They had to feel safe. Each child therefore has his own clothes and his own personal belongings; his own bed and his own towel. Hours are strictly observed in essentials such as sleeping, washing, meals, hours of play and hours of school. Relatives are not allowed to see the children at irregular hours. There is routine but no regimentation; play is not always supervised and there is considerable personal freedom. (Appendix III gives time-table.)

Rules are rigid but their number is strictly limited. An order is direct, simple and not overloaded with words. Money is controlled. Pocket-money on Saturday is 1d. for under-10s and 2d. for over-10s. It is normally provided by the parents, but where they fail the child receives it just the same. No money is spent during the week, except on special occasions when everyone can take part. Parcels from home must be shared with the whole table, and again, where parents fail, parcels are provided. Neither display nor poverty is allowed in clothes; changes of clothing are limited, not by possessions but by the laundry needs of the group. The aim is to allow the child to live freely in an ordered though limited world so that he may attain security in the knowledge that life is predictable. His landmarks are thereby restored and he may begin to master the turbulence of his own emotions.

The house-mother was evolved to meet the need for *affection*. She is essentially the mother of the house, looks after domestic matters, clothes, illnesses, cut fingers, and hurt feelings. When the teacher has been obliged to reprimand or even punish, and a miserable child far from home feels ill-used and neglected, he has always the substitute mother to whom he may turn. He knows with certainty that although she agrees with the teacher that he is wrong she sympathises with him that he is hurt. Like the wise mother she avoids friction between home and school; upholds the law but feels for the human. In actual working practice teachers do have a definitely affectionate relationship with the pupils, but there are times in a community of this size and type when the teacher must be 'angry' and with your unstable child it is necessary that he should have someone to whom he may run. On many occasions it prevents his running home. There is another consideration. The teachers, in the nature of their work with such children, cannot allow defiance or impertinence. These small personalities, groping slowly towards stability, tend to be overwhelmed if they cannot retaliate overtly on the adults who control their lives. The house-mother is a buffer, and they can assert their independence and salve their injured ego by being cheeky to 'Mammie X.'

It was decided from the beginning that *discipline* would be one of the features of Nerston despite the fact that some schools of thought postulate that complete self-expression is a necessity in the treatment of problem children. This view has never been endorsed by the founders of Nerston and no attempt was made to give complete freedom. In fact it would have been impossible to establish a sense of security unless under discipline.

Before a child enters Nerston it is explained to the parents that if necessary punishment will be administered; that punishment will never be harsh or excessive and will only be given in special circumstances, these being, if the child, after due warning and when fully

understanding, acts in a way that will injure himself or others. The parents must give their consent. Now that the house is well established corporal punishment is seldom necessary. Group discipline has been evolved and a tradition has grown up. Children now enter one or two at a time, and, as newcomers, more readily adopt the standard of those already there. In the early weeks of Nerston all children were newcomers. There was no corporate life and no tradition, and it was more necessary then to resort to corporal punishment when all else had failed. Corporal punishment is administered with a slipper (the child's), and the delinquent goes straight to bed. Other punishments are loss of privilege; a day in bed without books or toys; loss of pocket-money for one week, or punishment tasks while the others are at play.

It is necessary in all cases to know the child before making a decision on the question of punishment. In fact it is sometimes necessary to use considerable ingenuity to find a deterrent that is suitable for the particular child and acceptable to the group sense of fair play. But deliberate crimes must be detected and punished without fail if the child is to have a sense of security, and if his personality is to be properly knit together. Evidently this requirement was being met in Don's case. He had just been detected in a theft in which he involved two others, and was attempting a denial when suddenly he changed his mind, and remarked, 'What's the use? You can't get off with anything in this house. You always get caught anyway.' Don had suffered for years from erratic discipline and at 12 years of age was a sex delinquent, a thief and a fire-raiser. It was absolutely necessary that as far as possible all his delinquencies should be detected and that they should cease to pay even on a long chance. In the case of Lil, delinquencies were ignored as far as possible as they simply represented her early efforts at returning to a world on which she had almost turned her back.

#### FIRST SIX WEEKS

In describing the whole venture it simplifies matters to take the first six weeks as a separate period. It required this time to establish routine and to give the staff enough experience to enable them to meet with assurance the many situations that arise in a home of this type. Ingenuity and improvisation were at times stretched to the utmost.

It must be specially emphasised that all children were new to the house; all were very unhappy individuals shut in a world of their own and the big majority were either anti-social or asocial. One visitor to the house in the second week remarked that the children seldom smiled and the only laughter was hysterical laughter. There was no cohesion in the group; not one single child could be depended upon.

Take the question of sleep first. There were a number of sleep-

walkers, several who suffered from night terrors and a number of children who had not been in the habit of going to bed before 11 p.m. Falling out of bed was so common that it was necessary in certain cases to leave mattresses on which to fall. There are two dormitories and as the beds are rather close together one difficult child in a dormitory keeps everyone else awake. In spite of this, however, it was decided that the staff should not sit nightly in the dormitories until the children slept, as this would add an extra burden and one which would require to be continued. A teacher sat in a room nearby. It took weeks to establish the habit of sleeping at 9 o'clock but it was worth the perseverance. With only sporadic outbreaks of dormitory disturbance the habit of going to sleep at the right time has been maintained although there is now no child in the house who was there in September 1940. An interesting point is that during these early weeks there were constant noises in the dormitories, even when every child was asleep—talking, weeping, screaming. One child even sang in his sleep. The staff got very little real rest at night as they had to be always on the alert. Dormitory and staff bedroom doors are kept open and small pilot lights kept burning. It is still found that children recently admitted to the house are inclined to be disturbed in their sleep, but with experience the staff developed powers of discrimination. They know when to rise and go through and when the disturbance is merely normal noise.

Neurotic children have been found difficult to feed. Some have to be taught to use knife and fork; some refuse food; others are gluttonous; and some are excessively faddy. Difficulty was at first experienced in keeping them at the table till they finished a meal. Again, from the very beginning an effort was made to establish correct routine. There are five tables: big girls and big boys; smaller girls and smaller boys; and infants. White table-cloths are always used and barring serious accidents they are changed only once weekly. The food is plain but well cooked and nicely served, and so far every child has finally been able to take it. (A sample menu is given in Appendix V.)

The worst night in Nerston occurred in the second week, and since it was a clear example of group hysteria it may be given in detail. There were 37 children in the house, three teachers, and the cook. Shortly after 9 o'clock Mary (11 years), who suffered from severe tantrums and hysterical outbursts, became very troublesome in the dormitory. She was an aggressive type, very prone to interference, quarrelling and vindictiveness. Three times she was reprimanded for striking other children, but as the disturbance was becoming generalised and separate camps were forming it was decided to remove her temporarily from the dormitory. She refused to get out of bed and had to be lifted. She struggled violently, tore the blouse off the teacher, and dashed down the stairs in an attempt to run out into the night. Her struggles were

extremely violent; she kicked, scratched and bit the teacher, who finally slipped on the polished floor and sustained a severe sprain to the ankle. (There have since that date been no polished floors in Nerston.) The child was placed on a divan in the office and the cook, the only available person, left on guard outside the door. Meanwhile the disturbance had become so general that all lights had to be turned up. Eight children were sick, several were crying with headaches, several with toothache, and others merely crying. They were all sent to the bathroom. About a dozen beds had to be changed, either because of sickness or enuresis, and many beds had to be remade. During all this time Mary in the office kept up a perpetual screaming at the top of her voice. She was visited by one of the teachers and told that she could return to bed when she had stopped screaming and was ready to sleep. In all, three visits were made to her before she quietened down. Many children appeared to be concerned lest Mary was in a dark room, and they settled better when assured that the light was on. Mary returned to her bed shortly after 11 o'clock and was first asleep, but the staff remained on duty until 3.30 a.m. That night was a turning-point. Some kind of group feeling was established and there seemed to be a general agreement among the children that it should never happen again. It never has.

On the other hand there have been waves of delinquency and these have continued to appear at intervals. For instance, there may be several days of incessant quarrelling and aggressiveness. On such occasions most of the children become involved, even the excessively timid, and a good clearing up or a crisis becomes inevitable. But such occasions are not to be altogether regretted for they encourage the nervous child to extravert his aggressiveness instead of turning it in and disabling his own emotional life. There have been waves also of sex delinquency, and allied with that, pollution of lavatories and soiling of beds. Sometimes only the adolescents are involved and on these occasions it is noticeable that the younger children are easily distracted from taking too great an interest in the clearing up. They appear to get satisfaction from the fact that the 'big ones' are in trouble. This form of delinquency is dealt with in a number of different ways, depending on the type, age and history of the children involved and the particular form the delinquency has taken. The only general guidance given to the staff is, 'Avoid fuss, do not engender a sense of guilt, and on the whole deal with sex irregularities as very bad manners and something that just is not done.' Children are essentially conventional, and this attitude works remarkably well. In particular cases a child is interviewed alone, and the whole problem discussed; moralising is avoided.

There are periodic outbreaks of stealing, and here there are two lines

of treatment, depending on the type of child committing the delinquency. The one essential thing is to discover the thief, and except in one instance this has been successfully accomplished. Various methods of detection are used, but the most valuable is a word reaction test. Where the stealing is of the compulsive obsessional type, the objects stolen very often reveal it. For example, three different keys were stolen in less than ten days. The obsessional neurotics in the house are known and the inquiry is concentrated on these children. There is no punishment for such thefts. Either the emotional problem of the child is explained to him and some of his conflict made conscious, or else the whole business dismissed as 'a silly thing to do.' The line of treatment depends again on the particular child and the stage of his recovery. Where it is ordinary theft of sweets or similar childish possessions restitution must be made either by Saturday pennies or by the next parcel. The crime must not pay.

Life at Nerston is punctuated also by emotional waves. Like the waves of delinquency it is difficult to determine how or where they begin. Almost they appear as infections. There have been waves of fear, anger and exhibitionism, but perhaps the most interesting, which occurred about the fifth week, was a wave of religious fervour and interest. Its first appearance was in the dormitories. Just before Lights Out it is the rule to repeat the Lord's Prayer (Roman Catholic children say their own prayer). A plea was put forward at that time that Robin knew a very nice prayer and was willing to teach it to everyone. This was accepted, and for the next two days quite a number of the children spent all their spare time printing this rather lengthy prayer on large sheets of cardboard so that it could be hung in the dormitories. Younger children and non-readers were taught verbally. Bibles then appeared on all occasions, even at table, and there was considerable talk about sins and mortal sins. Then Richard, a 13-year-old obsessional, wakened the house-mother in the early hours of one morning to ask if she thought that God would be angry with him for thinking that perhaps he should take appendicitis and die. The climax came when John (10 years) was found in the bathroom at bedtime, minus everything but his pyjama trousers and a bible, and declaiming in a loud voice as he slapped the bible, 'The spirit of the Lord is upon you.' An admiring audience looked on. The teacher removed the bible, remarking, 'My hand will be upon you in three minutes if you're not in your bed.' Next morning all bibles were collected 'until you know when to use them,' and play was kept very active and supervised until the phase passed.

A fear wave is of special interest because of its distortion. The staff had been congratulating themselves on the fact that for more than a week everything had been running smoothly and that the children appeared to be particularly happy. The first disturbance was again

in the dormitory, children crying for no apparent reason, nor could they be persuaded to give a reason except that they wanted to go home. It was confined at first to the girls but later spread. Then ritual acts began to make their appearance. There was considerable whispering and a general air of apprehension and secrecy. The house-mother finally obtained the clue from two 12-year-old girls. A new member had just joined the staff and using as their premises that her speech was different (slight English accent) the children had decided that she was a spy, that they were going to be attacked at the invasion and that generally they were in danger. At a conference of the staff it was decided that too much effort had been expended on making the children happy and that they required some outlet for their morbid emotions. Twenty minutes were then set aside nightly for the reading of sad stories and the staff gave up all ideas of establishing a children's Utopia.

Some of the incidents given above overlap into a later period, but on the whole, after the first six weeks, the worst of the storms were over and routine was established. But it has remained a house of crises; only now the crises are rather with individual children, and very seldom is the whole group involved. With the accumulated experience of two years the teachers can very often detect a rising storm and deal with it before it attains major proportions. The work, however, calls for constant alertness, sincerity and enthusiasm, and physical and mental stamina to withstand the strain.

#### SCHOOLING

Since it was obviously impossible to teach the whole group as a class, one dormitory had to be used as a classroom for the older children and the recreation room as a classroom for the younger ones. In the first lower class the ages ranged from 5 to 11 years, and there were 17 children. In the upper class the age-range was from 8 to 14 years. Of the 20 children in this class there were two main groups, primary and post-primary, but they were taught by one teacher. In both classes teaching is by individual methods, and only in subjects of general interest can they be taken as a group. On the whole the earlier cases in Nerston showed more educational backwardness than more recent cases, and it is very satisfactory to report that in the first six months some of the children made as much as two years' normal progress in particular subjects. The arrangements made for practical work for post-primary children were not entirely satisfactory, though the boys did construct a very fine model of Nerston (base 3 ft. by nearly 2 ft.). A number of the girls were given training in housework, and learned a little cooking. The problem was finally solved in September 1941 when the head master of the secondary school two miles away agreed to take

in post-primary pupils considered sufficiently stable to be sent out to school. As a result of his excellent co-operation and his fundamental interest in the work, the arrangement has proved entirely satisfactory. The children travel by bus.

### RECREATION

Original plans for recreational activities had to be abandoned before Nerston was a week old. These neurotic children could not immediately form a cohesive group. They were all individuals out of step with everyone else. This was admirably demonstrated in ordinary marching. It took ten minutes' practice every day for three weeks to teach them to march to music. Yet in May 1941 the girls gave a display of æsthetic dancing on the lawn in front of the house to the accompaniment of the music from *Snow White*.

The first football game took place ten days after the opening. One of the male staff from town gathered the boys and explained the game in the simplest possible way. Within fifteen minutes he was left with one boy and the ball. Yet in June 1942 the City Clinics played Nerston in a properly organised game with full football kit. The score was 4—4. Admittedly one Nerston boy stopped to pick daisies, and another scored a goal for the opposite side by kicking the ball over his head.

The evolution of spontaneous group play was specially interesting. About the third or fourth week Margaret (11 years) pulled some of the furniture of the recreation room into a corner and with two younger girls began to play 'house.' It ended in quarrelling. The following night an opposition 'house' appeared in another corner and play ended in a bigger quarrel. Dolls were then allowed to a 'happy house' and from this developed 'christenings.' (They had witnessed a christening in church.) 'Christenings' were finished when they christened one another with mud. The older ones responsible had to miss the pictures in order to clean the clothes which had been so badly soiled. Willie's remark on this occasion was, 'It's a Laurel and Hardy. The best we have had yet. No more mud baths for me.'

'Weddings' developed either from 'houses' or 'christenings.' They coincided with the end of the religious wave. The first one was spontaneous and took place in the field with no adults present. It was watched by a teacher from a window. This was the first occasion on which practically every child joined in the play.

Playing 'hospitals' began on a wet Sunday afternoon when they were allowed as a special treat to play in the dormitories. It was the first group play that showed imagination and ingenuity. Without any assistance from adults they took their parts as patients, nurses, doctors, and dressed themselves for the parts in towels, sheets, blankets, anything that was available. The surgeon operated with a ruler and the matron

did her rounds of the wards before going for her 'cup of tea.' The following Saturday about half of them put their money together to buy biscuits for meals in the 'hospital.' Those not contributing were excluded from the game.

'Hotels' is another popular game in which all join, but probably the most original is 'shipwreck.' The staff were at tea one evening when a continual bumping in the recreation room obliged someone to go through. Two tables had been put together to form the bridge of the ship. Infant desks and seats formed lifeboats, into which 'women and children' were put while the captain stood on the bridge shouting, 'Swim for your lives, men.' The 'men' were diving off the bridge and swimming about on the floor.

It is likely that this type of spontaneous group play did more to mould Nerston into a community than any other single factor. As far as possible the staff took very little part in it, merely supplying the properties as they were asked for, and admiring, though not unduly, the efforts at characterisation. The first milestone on the way was when a written invitation was handed into the staffroom requesting that the teachers attend a concert to be given by the children. The concert was of the pierrot type, interspersed with simple and somewhat crude sketches devised by the children themselves. The audience was duly appreciative. Since these early days a great variety of recreations have been introduced. The pupils are taught Singing, Dancing, Sewing, Dramatics, Handwork and Gardening. A play given on Parents' Day raised £1, 2s. 6d. for the Red Cross. Some of the children have even been allowed to join the local Boys' Brigade and Girl Guides. They have gone sledging and for picnics, and the cinema in the house and boxing matches are always popular. Dolls, prams, seesaws, tents, balls, bats, etc. are available. There are table games such as table tennis, mechano, minibrix, kliptiko, but these aids to recreation are issued only during wet weather. One of the difficulties has been teaching them proper care of playthings, but in actual practice group pressure is the best teacher. Any popular toy badly used is not re-issued for one month, and all are involved in this loss of privilege. As Isa said, 'I know now that if anyone does a wrong thing other people get hurt. That's what Mammie said about Daddy when he wouldn't work.'

On Sundays play is more restrained and all children now go to church or chapel every Sunday morning. Sunday school is held in the recreation room on Sunday evening, Catholic and Protestant hymns being sung by all.

#### TASKS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

It was not at first possible to give the children any housework to do. Gradually a system of privilege and responsibility was built up, partly

as a form of therapy, and partly in an effort to build a tradition in the house. It was a gradual evolution, and tasks were added from time to time till now there is quite a formidable list of jobs. (See Appendix VI.) Each job is undertaken on a weekly basis. Early on Sunday evenings duties are appointed for the next week and a definite effort is made to suit the job to the child. Anyone failing to carry out his task involves the others in discomfort. He is the subject of open criticism and group disfavour. This, however, appears to make no impression on the schizoid type. Where a task has been particularly well done over a week the person is publicly congratulated on Sunday evening. This is most effective with exhibitionists. Kitchen duties are always popular because there are titbits in the kitchen and special treats, like a cup of tea at some unusual hour.

#### HEALTH

Five days after Nerston was opened diphtheria broke out. There were three cases. Since that time measles, chicken pox, mumps, scarlet fever, scabies, impetigo, erysipelas, pneumonia, tonsillitis, all have made their appearance. But there has been no real epidemic, in spite of the proximity of dormitory beds. When a child appears to be unwell he is changed to the bottom of his bed, and when he is definitely ill he is moved into the office. Nerston has no isolation room. A teacher must on such occasions sleep in the staffroom downstairs. Whenever possible windows and doors are left open wide and the children are in the open air a great deal. Vermin infection occasionally appears after the visiting day, but only twice has it attained serious proportions. Visiting is once in three weeks on Saturday afternoon. Saturday night is bath night. Hair is tooth-combed three times a week. Medical and dental inspection is by the Glasgow Education Health Service staff, and although the children usually go into the city for dental treatment it has on two occasions been successfully carried out in Nerston. One of the psychiatrists from the city clinics visits at intervals to advise on the progress and further treatment of cases, the cases being selected by the teacher-psychologist in charge. Emergency medical attention is given by the local doctor.

#### AIR RAIDS

During the first winter at Nerston there were many night raids and one of the first duties of the staff was to make proper provision for the care and control of the children during such times. Every child possesses sand shoes or house slippers, and every night these are tucked between the mattresses and the springs of the beds. No child is allowed to leave bed without slippers. At the foot of each bed is an 'air raid

blanket,' inside of which is folded the child's clothes. In the case of an alert both dormitories are roused, and each child has to put on his slippers, lift his blanket containing his clothes, and run down to the entrance hall, which until September 1941 was the only shelter. Each night extra blankets, pillows and air-raid lamps are put out in the hall.

Some of the children waken readily; others have to be lifted repeatedly from bed as they insist on crawling back. It became necessary to give to each of the more alert ones the responsibility of getting a sleepy one downstairs. The roll is called while the children are dressing. Having pulled their outer clothes over their pyjamas they wrap themselves in their blankets and lie on the floor. Some go to sleep almost immediately; others become very bright and lively. Many impromptu concerts have taken place under such conditions and there is often community singing. Sweets or biscuits are issued during the night.

On the night of April 7th-8th 1941 Nerston was quite severely blasted by bomb, and since it was possibly a unique opportunity for obtaining precise information on the reaction of neurotic children under conditions of shock and crisis the incidents will be recounted in detail.

There were eight bombs in the stick; two 500-pounders were very close, one being fifteen yards from the front of the house, the other thirty yards from the back of the house.

About 9 o'clock the sirens were heard, and as the children were not then asleep they came quickly downstairs. One child was ill and it had just been discovered that her temperature was very high (she developed scarlet fever). She was therefore placed in the staffroom, two easy-chairs, cushions and blankets providing bed and shelter. There was the usual singing, reciting, etc., but by 11.45 p.m. most of the children were asleep. Two teachers and the house-mother were on duty. The domestic staff had gone to the kitchen to make tea. Suddenly the house rocked with the force of the explosion. Glass could be heard falling, and bits of plaster fell from the ceiling and walls. The kitchen door was thrown open and the domestics rushed screaming among the children, who joined in the screaming and fell over one another in their struggles to rise hampered by their blankets. One teacher and the house-mother seized the most hysterical children and holding them tightly assured them that the house was quite safe. The other teacher directed the panic by calling them to the entrance passage only a few feet away. They were told to sit down there and did so in less than three minutes. The children simply accepted the calm displayed by their teachers. The janitor entered at this point, saying, 'What's all the fuss? The lids of the dustbins blew through the kitchen windows.' There was considerable hysterical laughter and biscuits were hastily issued. The janitor collected the domestic staff as the kitchen floor was on fire. The sick child in the staffroom had suffered nothing worse

than a soot bath and there was much laughter at her appearance. She was brought into the hall. A pail was obtained and placed in the toy-cupboard to act as a lavatory, and a teacher stood at the door shining a torch for each one who entered. They were afraid of the cupboard's darkness. For the next hour one of the teachers told funny rhymes and stories and finally got the singing re-started by 1 a.m. By 3 o'clock all but two children were again asleep.

When the all-clear sounded about 5 a.m. the house-mother served hot sweet tea and biscuits to every child. The teachers went upstairs to find a wrecked classroom and dormitories strewn with plaster and glass. They remade all beds, shaking out the plaster, etc., put as much of the debris as possible into pails and swept the rest under the beds. When the children came upstairs many were wet and had simply to be put to bed without pyjamas. The majority of them were sleepy, but some were excited, and one girl remarked on her way up to the dormitory, 'Hitler has left his visiting card.' Billy (9 years) kept repeating, and kept on doing so for days, 'I thought the house was coming down.' At 8 a.m. a time-bomb was discovered in the garden, and instructions were issued to evacuate as soon as possible.

The recreation room had not been much damaged and it was decided to give the children some breakfast while arrangements could be made to house them. Tables were pulled in from the wrecked dining-room and breakfast was served. One or two incidents here are worthy of note. The children shook out their table-cloths and put them on the tables. They collected the strewn flowers and put them in the one remaining vase and refused to start breakfast without grace. There was a certain poignancy in the childish voices raised in singing,

'Let us with a gladsome mind  
Praise the Lord for He is kind.'

Some child remembered that it was the house-mother's birthday, and true to tradition they stopped breakfast to sing, 'Happy birthday to you,' when she entered the room.

Arrangements were hurriedly made to billet the children in the secondary school two miles away. It was an official Rest Centre and had, therefore, accommodation. Each child was instructed to pack only what he could carry and leave everything else. One little girl took a case. When it was opened it contained nothing but her doll. One boy could not find his concertina and was most disconsolate when ejected without it. It was rather a pathetic procession to onlookers, but the children were buoyed up by excitement and novelty. Three infants and the sick child were taken in a car, and staff arrived from town to assist in transferring essential supplies, such as dry trousers and knickers, towels and medicine.

## REST CENTRE

The children were well received by the W.V.S. who had turned out to assist. They were given a meal, but their faces fell when they saw that it did not reach usual proportions. Altogether they were three and a half weeks living in the school. Thirteen blind children from the other section of Nerston Homes were there also, and they lived as one community. The age-range was 3 to 18 years.

The first essential was to establish a routine as near to the one followed in Nerston as could be arranged in the circumstances. Each child had his own straw palliasse and blankets, and had to make up his bed every morning and roll it out again at night. Girls and boys were in separate classrooms, and these were called dormitories. Hours of meals, etc. were the same, though schooling was much more haphazard. Saturday night was still bath night, only bathing was done in the Domestic Science kitchen tubs.

One of the first duties was to write to the parents, and it was considered that a letter from the child would be more reassuring than one from any of the teachers. The children were told that if they would write exactly what was put on the blackboard their stamp would be paid for them. This point was much appreciated. Unfortunately no exact copy of that letter now exists, but the aim of it was to prevent the parents visiting, and, at the same time, allay any fears for the safety of the children. Some of the parents were of an hysterical type and the effects of a visit were dreaded by the staff. The letter ran somewhat as follows:

'Dear (Mummy/Daddy), We are staying in East Kilbride School. We have a time-bomb in the garden and it has not gone off. We also have a big crater in the playing-field. You are not to visit me here because there is not any room. Every day when it is dry we go tracking and I was up at the Whins. We have got a football team and it is the same postman, so please send my parcel to Nerston. Everyone has a straw bed and Air Force blankets. I will tell you when to visit. Please send (everyone allowed to insert what he liked). Love to . . . and tell . . . I was asking for them. Love from . . .'

The response to this letter was quite remarkable. Not a single parent called, but some visited the city clinics to make inquiries. Other parents wrote to say that they were pleased at the improvement in spelling. The third Saturday of the children's sojourn in the Rest Centre parents were allowed to visit and they turned out in very great force. It must be stated that they behaved very well indeed. There was not a single complaint, which was unusual, and a number went out

of their way to express their gratitude and even sent on cakes and sweets to the staff by way of appreciation.

Rather remarkably the children exhibited few adverse results of their experience. In fact, summing up the reactions of these children to raids, the only outstanding feature was the increase in wetting and soiling. They were certainly encouraged in their attitude of excitement, almost enjoyment, of the sensation, and talked freely about *our* bomb, *our* crater, *our* guns, and *our* planes, and noisiness was not suppressed. There was considerable night raiding during the Rest Centre period, but the children seemed to develop an attitude of boredom or indifference towards raids. They slept through them unless actually roused. One night when the noise of guns and planes was very heavy it was decided to rouse the children and sacrifice the advantages of dispersal in order to take them to an underground shelter, even though that shelter had a stone floor and was unheated. They were wakened with the usual remark, 'It's the guns, get up.' Willie (12 years) sat up, listened a moment, then, with 'Och, A'm feart,' pulled the blankets over his head, and promptly went to sleep. They were left to sleep it out.

Scouting activities began during the stay at East Kilbride. One of the male staff from town instituted tracking activities with Scout lore. It fitted in well with the general atmosphere of adventure that was encouraged throughout this camping period. Many children made friends with the school children of the district and they were allowed to invite these new friends to the cinema show which was still a weekly feature, now given in the girls' dormitory. Before the end of the third week a certain nostalgia for Nerston began to appear. Questions like 'Has the bomb burst?' and 'When are we going home?'—'home' meaning Nerston—were constant. There was talk also of getting 'back to my own bed' and reminiscing about games and incidents in Nerston. In fact, when the parents visited the chief item of news was, 'We're going home next week.'

#### RETURN TO NERSTON

There was tremendous excitement when it became known that we were 'going home' on Thursday. The only repairs that had been effected in the house were replacement of windows and a general clean up, but the East Kilbride School was needed, and it was considered that everybody had had enough of Rest Centre. There was the further inconvenience of feeding. All food was supplied from Glasgow in insulated containers, but meals had to be served at the demonstration benches in the Domestic Science kitchen. These benches were narrow and crowded, and table manners had deteriorated accordingly. Also

everyone, including staff, was tired of sleeping on the floor, and the children's clothes and skins were being adversely affected by the general conditions. The supply of hot water was very limited, and in the darkness of the school cloakrooms it was not always possible to see that the younger ones were properly dried. Several had bad splinters under their nails, sustained when making up their beds on the floor, and three had septic fingers; calloused skin and hacks were very common; one had erysipelas on his leg and another had scabies.

Their delight at their return to Nerston was almost pathetic. Some were in bed by 6 o'clock that night and appeared quite indifferent to the gaping patches of broken plaster in walls and ceilings.

The following few weeks strained the staff to the utmost, in spite of the fact that teachers were sent daily to do the actual instruction in school work. Eleven ceilings had to be taken down and replaced. Some of the younger children had to be steeped nightly in lux, and knees, ankles and wrists pumice-stoned and hot olive oil rubbed in. In fact, when routine was again established the children seemed to be the only ones unaffected by the disruption. It was particularly noticeable that although there was a raid on the second night after their return to Nerston and they again had to take refuge in the entrance hall no child exhibited any traumatic symptoms from his earlier experience.

The following conclusions on the effects of air raids on unstable children were reached:

1. Provided the adults remain calm the children are not emotionally disturbed to any great extent.
2. Provided routine is maintained as far as possible the children enjoy the excitement, and perhaps even gain stability from it.
3. In spite of the fact that it adds to the strain of the adults in charge it is better for the children to be noisy during periods of crisis. They give thereby overt expression to their feelings and do not have to repress them. There is no disgrace in saying, 'I'm frightened.' The answer is always, 'Are you? Then just come over beside me.'
4. The increase in wetting and soiling appears to have been a normal reaction, as increased elimination is commonly reported among normal adults during and after raids. Some children reacted in the opposite way and suffered from constipation, but this again appears a characteristic among the normal population.

(Appendix VII gives the numbers treated and their disposal to date.)

### CONCLUSION

It is very difficult to give a clear picture of Nerston. Atmosphere cannot be reduced to words, and there is undoubtedly an atmosphere. Visitors (and there have been many from all parts of the country) report that it is Nerston's strongest characteristic. There is no institutional feeling. It is more like a noisy and sometimes untidy home. When visitors are expected the children are told, as they would be in a normal family, 'We're having visitors from . . . , so go and get your face washed and tidy up a bit.' 'Clear the playroom and tidy up the cloakroom, and remember to have on your best manners.' Actually they respond to this very well indeed, and anyone who fails to carry out these instructions is despised for letting down Nerston. The children speak very freely to visitors and the exhibitionists often get a good chance to show off. On such occasions it is quite usual for another member of the group to say to the visitor, 'Ruby is just showing off; she always does.' This is quite helpful as therapy and has probably been of great therapeutic value to Ruby, who is the worst exhibitionist Nerston has known.

There is frankness of discussion and remark. For instance, it is quite usual for a visiting member of the staff to ask, 'How is your temper these days?' The reply might be, 'I haven't lost my rag for a week,' which is an achievement. Or someone else might answer for the offender, 'He was in trouble yesterday.' If the reply is favourable the teacher looks pleased, and remarks, 'That's splendid!' or, 'Glad you are doing so well,' but if the reply is unfavourable the teacher's face falls and she turns away without a remark. Everyone is interested in improvement but *not* interested in failure. On the other hand when punishment is suffered for any crime the subject is completely dropped and no one is allowed to bring it up again. When a child enters the house he is told, 'The teachers know all about what you have been doing and what is wrong with you, but none of the children know anything about you. They will not be told unless you begin stealing here (in the case of theft), when they will be told why you are here and that they will have to watch you.' This rule is strictly kept by the staff, but the children are not so reticent. This has, however, developed a certain amount of tolerance, for no one is there without a reason, and when a new case is being particularly troublesome and the old cases, now grown sociable, complain of the disturbance, they are told, 'We had to put up with you when you came here and were difficult. Now it is up to you to put up with him until he gets better.' Amusing incidents have arisen from this attitude. For instance, Sam, the worst swearer we ever had, sent to Coventry a small child who had used one swear word. The matter was openly discussed with the group involved, and it was decided that since the others had suffered Sam's original bad language he must

accept Hugh's apology and let the matter drop. Again, Rose was asked a few days after a bad scene, 'How are you behaving now?' Janet, her greatest friend, hurriedly answered for her, 'She is very much better, Miss . . .'

Certain questions are asked by nearly all professional visitors to Nerston. Answers to these will probably give a clearer idea of the whole conception that has made Nerston possible.

How is it possible to treat successfully individuals in a group which is so diverse in age, temperament and disability? The staff know each child as an individual. The children acquire undoubted confidence in their temporary guardians, but retain the right to protest if they consider that there is an injustice. After they have been some time in the house they have a clearer understanding of the fact that everyone is different; that all of them have something wrong with them and that all are being cured. Sometimes it is explained to them that different illnesses need different treatment and instances are given from their own history. So far this method has worked very well indeed.

Is it wise to have living together adolescent boys and girls, some of whom are sex delinquents? How are the problems of puberty overcome? When menstruation begins the girl is given a simple talk by the head teacher in the privacy of her bedroom, and has thereafter the right to use that bedroom at particular times so that she may be free from intrusion by younger children. Prudery is definitely discouraged. Boys and girls, clad usually in pyjamas, use one bathroom for washing, and at the same time. They have accepted the idea that while they are living together as a family they should treat one another as brothers and sisters. Only at bath-time is the bathroom closed to one sex. There are separate lavatories. The most difficult time was when the older children went out to the secondary school. There was a period of about two weeks when excessive prudery broke out amongst the girls and boys. Even the infants became involved. The attitude adopted by the staff was that it was not necessary to be quite so polite when they were temporarily brothers and sisters. The house-mother called it 'a piece of nonsense.'

It is probably correct to say that Nerston is now a remarkably happy house. There is a zest in life which is infectious, and a general open-air attitude, mental as well as physical, which strikes the visitor almost immediately. In spite of the many difficulties in a house of this kind children acquire a sense of belonging and many weep when they leave for good. Old scholars visit frequently, and one 14-year-old girl alarmed the staff by asking, 'If I get into trouble again, can I get back to Nerston?' The old problem of how to keep the children in Nerston is disappearing though new cases sometimes run away during their first week. After a certain stage a child is allowed home for one day; then

for a week-end; and finally for a week. This procedure makes it possible to gauge the child's reaction to the problems of his own home and gives him the opportunity of discussing them with a trusted adult. His chances of withstanding the strain of normal living are thereby enhanced. He learns to face facts. Sometimes he is told, 'Yes, you are handicapped by not having both your father and your mother (in cases of separation) or by your father's or mother's nerves (in cases of unstable parents) but you must try to be sorry for them and not blame them. There was no Nerston when they were young and you are much better off because you know that it is best to behave properly. They are not happy, but you are.'

Nerston was an experiment under the Government evacuation scheme. (Financial arrangements are given in Appendix VIII.) Its success and usefulness have established it as a permanent and integral part of Glasgow's Child Guidance Service. As a training centre for clinical staff it is invaluable. Even the most experienced clinicians derive immeasurable benefit from a period of service in the house.

Little crippled personalities come there, hating, fearing, distrusting, their whole view of life distorted by their unhappiness. They leave again in six, twelve or eighteen months, freer and happier individuals, grown whole again by self-knowledge, self-discipline, tolerance and sympathy for human weakness. It was upon these pillars that idealism raised the reality of Nerston.<sup>1</sup>

#### APPENDIX I

Type of case in the first two years	Frequency	
	Boys	Girls
Wandering . . . . .	26	17
Sex delinquency or sexual assault . . . . .	14	18
Anxiety and obsessional neurosis . . . . .	25	32
Nervousness . . . . .	14	15
Persistent thieving . . . . .	17	15

<sup>1</sup> Footnote, 1943. Another year has passed and Nerston is now three years old. In that time 196 children have been treated there, and 29 teacher-psychologists from the Glasgow City Clinics have in turn done residential duty. But although children and staff have changed, Nerston has retained its essential features and has grown to meet the growing needs for this type of service.

In October 1942 an adjoining house was acquired and the early congestion was relieved. There are now four dormitories with beds adequately spaced. Proper classrooms, sick-room and extra lavatories have been added, and staff quarters improved. Under the new conditions it has been possible to accept for treatment more serious hysterical cases, physically incapacitated by their mental illness and therefore needing more care. It has also been possible to grant admission to a limited number of serious cases from other parts of Scotland.

It is very satisfactory to report that the good results of the early period have not only been maintained, but with improved accommodation and increased experience it has also been possible to reduce the period of treatment required in individual cases.

Soiling and enuresis . . . . .	26	17
Violent temper and assault . . . . .	21	13
Emotional retardation and infantile behaviour . . . . .	28	20
Night terrors and sleep-walking . . . . .	10	17
Exhibitionism and sadism. . . . .	16	18
Referred by Probation Department or Fiscal . . . . .	9	11
Possible pre-psychotics . . . . .	11	5

## APPENDIX II

## AGE-RANGE

Years	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Boys . . . . .	1	1	8	8	8	12	11	6	6	1
Girls . . . . .	1	2	4	6	13	9	8	7	3	1

## APPENDIX III

## TIME-TABLE

7 a.m.	Enuretics are roused	2 p.m.	School
7.50	Rise and wash	4	Play or walk
8.20	Breakfast	4.50	Wash hands
8.40	Tasks and outside play (weather permitting)	5	Tea
9.30	School	5.20	Tasks, play
11	Milk	6.30	Group activity
11.20	School	7.30	Bed-time 'pieces'
12.20 p.m.	Wash hands	7.30	Under-10's wash and bed
12.30	Dinner	8.15	Over-10's wash and bed
12.50	Tasks and play	8.45	Lights out
		11	Enuretics are roused

## APPENDIX IV

## DISTRIBUTION OF IQs

IQ	70	71-85	86-100	101-115	116-130	Over 130
Boys . . . . .	1	15	30	8	4	3
Girls . . . . .	1	16	18	10	3	2

## APPENDIX V

## MENU

Breakfast	8.30 a.m.	Porridge and milk or pease meal, brown bread and butter and/or jam, cocoa
	11	Small cup of milk
Dinner	12.30 p.m.	Soup and pudding or meat and two vegetables and pudding (alternate days)

- Tea 5 p.m. Sandwiches (varied) or cheese dishes or egg dishes or sausages or black pudding or French toast, tea, bread and butter and/or jam  
 7.30 Bread and butter

Saturday tea—Hot pies and teabread. Sunday breakfast—Rolls and bacon

## APPENDIX VI

### LIST OF JOBS

Set and clear tables	Tidy playing-field in evening
Clean shoes and wellingtons for own table	Mothers—assist in putting younger children to bed
Go for morning paper	Prepare potatoes for household (potato machine)
Fill coal scuttles	Kitchen duties
Replenish fires	Supervising case-room
Sweep dining-room after meals	Supervising toy-cupboard
Sweep recreation room in evening	Sharpening pencils
Tidy cloakroom	Assist younger children in bed-making
Tidy classroom	Messengers
Inspect lavatories	
Mop bathroom	

## APPENDIX VII

### NUMBERS TREATED AND DISPOSAL

	Boys	Girls	Total
Admitted . . . . .	62	54	116
Discharged to camp, billets or own home . . .	27	32	59
Left before treatment completed . . . .	10	2	12
Failed to respond to treatment . . . .	4	..	4
Certified for institution . . . .	..	1	1
At present in house . . . . .	21	18	39

Percentage of enuretics has varied between 50 and 21 of children in house. Variation is result of admissions and cures.

## APPENDIX VIII

The cost of Nerston is partly met by the Government grant for evacuated children. The parents' contribution is determined by the total family income, having regard to the Corporation scale of evacuation charges. Under Section 111 (4), Education (Scotland) Act, 1908, as amended by Section 5 of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1925, Glasgow Corporation Education Committee meet the additional cost. This arrangement was formally approved by the Scottish Education Department in February 1942.

## BARNS HOUSE

### A HOSTEL FOR DIFFICULT BOYS EVACUATED FROM EDINBURGH

BARNs was opened in the summer of 1940 to help to 'take the grit out of the evacuation machinery.' It has since come to fill a need that was felt before the war, and which will continue to be felt after the war. It was intended to receive boys who had been found to be unbilleted on account of behaviour difficulties, but in practice it is found that boys are being evacuated from Edinburgh in order that they may come to Barns.

The suggestion that such a hostel be opened was first made by some members of the Society of Friends, who found they had the warm support of the Department of Health for Scotland. A suitable house being found near Peebles, the Peeblesshire County Council was approached, and agreed to accept formal responsibility for the hostel. (Under the evacuation regulations only a County Council may establish a hostel.) A Committee was set up consisting of six members of the Society of Friends, the Chairman of Peeblesshire County Council, and the leader of the Peeblesshire W.V.S. Education is the responsibility of the receiving area, and therefore comes under Peeblesshire Education Committee, the evacuating authority, Edinburgh, paying teachers' salaries.

The Society of Friends provides the warden, who is the only staff member with specific qualifications for dealing with difficult children; his wife acts as house-mother.

The Peeblesshire County Council pays, from its Evacuation Account, the wages of the domestic staff and the sub-warden, and the Edinburgh Education Authority pays the teaching staff of one full-time and one half-time teacher. (The half-time teacher is, during the other half of his time, sub-warden.)

The house, which stands on the banks of the Tweed, was generously lent by the Wemyss Landed Estates Ltd. It is naturally not as suitable for its present use as would be a house specially built for the purpose; but it is much more suitable than a private house might be expected to be. Thirty boys are accommodated in five dormitories, each with six inmates. They are normally between the ages of 9 and 12 when admitted (though the lower age-limit is elastic), and may stay until they reach school-leaving age or are billeted.

During the first two years the school met in the house, or outbuildings, but the Department of Health has recently erected a school hut in the grounds.

#### TYPE OF CHILD RECEIVED

The kind of behaviour which results in a boy coming to Barns is pilfering, truancy, temper tantrums, wandering, disobedience, wilfulness, aggressiveness, and being beyond parental control. Fifty-five boys have so far been admitted, of whom 31 are now in residence. Of the 55, 19 came from other billets, and the remaining 36 direct from Edinburgh, though some of these had been evacuated before. The main causes of difficulty specified by the referring agencies were as under:

	Boys coming direct from Edinburgh (36)	Boys coming from other billets (19)	Totals
Stealing . . . . .	24	5	29
Truancy . . . . .	21	0	21
Beyond control . . . . .	12	4	16
Aggressiveness . . . . .	12	0	12
Wilfulness . . . . .	0	12	12
Temper . . . . .	9	0	9
Wandering . . . . .	5	1	6
Disobedience . . . . .	1	0	1
Lying . . . . .	1	0	1
Sex. . . . .	1	0	1

The difference between the symptoms complained of by parents and those complained of by evacuation foster-parents is interesting. The principal complaint of the billet-hostess, it will be seen, is wilfulness. There is reason to think that in some cases this vague complaint was a symptom rather of weariness in wellbeing in the hostess than of defect in the young guest. Certainly some of the wilful boys were found to be extremely attractive and well behaved at Barns, and were soon rebilleted.

The symptoms tabulated above are the major difficulties, but there are also many minor troubles. Lying, for example, is not confined to the one boy in whom it is a major symptom, and many other symptoms were discovered later, especially those of a psychological as distinct from a social nature. Among these are night terrors, timidity, boastfulness, excitability, food fads, and, above all, enuresis. The number of bedwetters has varied between a quarter and a half of the total population.

Truancy and stealing, we have found, nearly always go together and so, to a less extent, do aggressiveness and bad temper. Wandering is not associated with truancy to any great extent—it is often done at night.

The Edinburgh boys (*i.e.* those direct from Edinburgh) display a standard of behaviour that is quite bad. Eighteen of the 36 are known to have had police-court experience, and most of the remaining 18 appear to have been evacuated in order to avoid court proceedings. Such words as 'incorrigible,' 'dangerous,' 'hopeless,' occur frequently in referral reports. In one case, a boy decided at the last minute that he did not want to be evacuated, and the escort deemed it necessary to call to his aid a by-standing policeman to get the boy into the bus. Both were well kicked before the boy was set on his journey. Of another, his probation officer writes that he had sought expert opinion, and had been told that there was no hope of the boy's reclamation. The boys come entirely from working-class or poor working-class families, living mostly around the High Street, Leith Walk, or in the new housing estates.

Excluding cases due to war circumstances broken homes are known to occur in 35 cases. Broken homes are taken to include homes where the parents, while living together, quarrel frequently and openly, or where they have been separated and have now come together again. It is probable that this situation, which is not always brought to light very early, also occurs in a number of the remaining cases. Many of the parents are ignorant, careless and, above all, irresponsible. Quite often the homes are dirty, untidy and generally disreputable, even when quite good money is coming in.

The intelligence of the boys is well below that of the normal population. Fourteen boys left before IQs had been secured. The remaining 41 rate as under:

IQ	N	%	(Normal %)
70-79	10	24	(5)
80-89	11	27	(14)
90-99	13	32	(30)
100+	7	17	(50)
			<hr/>
	41		

(The figures in brackets in the third column show the approximate percentage which might be expected in the general population.)

The present population, which is more typical than the earlier one, rates as follows:

IQ	N	%
70-79	8	26
80-89	7	22
90-99	13	42
100+	3	10
		—
		31

The IQs of the three 100+ boys are 106, 110 and 117.<sup>1</sup>

### THE BARN'S FAMILY LIFE

From what has been said, it will be seen that the factor of family insecurity is present in a large proportion of the cases admitted to Barns. All investigators are agreed that this is a major factor in the aetiology of juvenile delinquency.

Without wishing to attribute all virtue to the *status quo*, the family system does seem to be the natural way of bringing up children, whatever other experiments may have been tried in the brave new worlds of Mr Aldous Huxley's imagination or of Soviet practice. That system involves a mother and a father, both of whom have an attitude of protective affection to each other and to their offspring. The parents provide the food and shelter that are necessary to the child's physical wellbeing and growth. This everyone accepts, even those who are most anxious to see the State providing more assistance to the parents in their work of bringing up their children. What is not always realised is that the parents provide, or should provide, that example of affection to each other, and of loving solicitude to the child, which are essential to the child's proper growth in the psychical as distinct from the physical sphere. The absence, or inadequacy, of this affection will bring about emotional malnutrition and spiritual deficiencies as surely as these conditions are brought about in the physical sphere by inadequate or unsuitable feeding.

Parental affection has ideally a quality which differentiates it from the esteem of other people: it is not dependent on any virtues or qualities in the child. The sentimental song and the cheap novelette have eulogised mother-love *ad nauseam*, but they do accentuate that essential quality of parental affection, which—as George Sand has put it in her *Intimate Journal*—‘will always be waiting for them, whatever their faults, because the tender affection of parents withstands every test.’ Mother-love and father-love provide, as it were, a permanent

<sup>1</sup> At a later time 28 boys resident at Barns were tested by Dr A. M. Macmeeken for laterality. The result of this examination shows that, of the 28, 16 were left-handed or left-eyed, or both; and that 6 others showed other characteristics connected with left laterality.

sheet anchor for the emotions, without which there is the danger of drift and disaster.

It has been necessary to stress this because, with this factor so often inadequate in the lives of the children who come to Barns, we have regarded it as our first duty to supply that lack. They must be made to feel secure, not in the relatively superficial way in which a firm discipline provides security, but with the deeper and more permanent assurance which comes from the sense of being loved. The security arising from a firm discipline tends to disappear when the discipline is no longer present; the security provided by affection, *once* established, is more permanent in its effect. It tends to enhance the self-assurance which a firm discipline is apt to diminish, and to encourage the initiative which a firm discipline inhibits.

#### PUNISHMENT

This first fundamental task is an extremely difficult one, and brings us straight up against the problem of punishment. The successful parent, if he has recourse to punishment at all, is able to distinguish between the deed and the doer—‘I love you for what you are, I am punishing you for what you have done,’ and the child realises that the punishment is not the result of personal animosity. ‘This hurts me more than it hurts you,’ should be true of all parental punishment (if there is to be any at all), whatever the wisdom of using that particular formula to the child. But to the difficult child punishment has too often come to be associated with personal animosity and it has been found essential therefore to dispense with punishment entirely in Barns House. The warden was once telling a group of boys how a member of a deputation which visited Barns had insisted that the boys needed belting, and had said that the warden should keep a strap behind the door. The immediate response was: ‘Why did he say that? Doesn’t he like us?’ In a home like Barns, it is frequently necessary in establishing the right relationship with the boys to ignore little peccadilloes—or even fairly grave offences—indeed it may even be necessary upon occasion to ‘approve’ (as distinct from ‘wink at’) undesirable conduct, so that confidence may be created. But this, it must be clearly understood, is only in the initial phase. Once the child realises that the adults in his environment distinguish between *him* as an individual and what he *does*, correction can begin to take place, though by then it will have become less necessary. But in no case at Barns do we resort to the use of punishment, though to the uninitiated it may sometimes appear that we do. For example, a child who by reason of temper tantrums is upsetting the whole house may be put to bed until he feels better, with the explanation that this is being done so that the normal routine of

the house may go on. A boy creating a disturbance in the dining-room may be made to finish his meal in another room; a dormitory which insists on making a noise long after it should be asleep may have to 'make up sleep' by going to bed earlier the next night, and so on. But it should be added that even these measures are usually carried out now under the self-governing arrangements to be described later. And it should be added that the staff of Barns are no less human than any other staff, and may lose their tempers at times under provocation. But as the attitude here described is based more on religious conviction than upon considerations of expediency, it is not easily shaken, and no attempt is ever made to justify a loss of temper to the children.

There has been one exception to this rule of no punishment, due to a conflict of authorities and a difference of ideals. The first teacher in charge of the school confronted with the almost impossible task of teaching single-handed 20 to 30 boys of widely varying ages and capacities felt unable to maintain this attitude after the first few weeks, when he began to make use of corporal punishment in the ordinary way, and continued to use it increasingly until his transfer to another school. The situation was very understandable: but it will readily be seen that it created serious problems for an institution seeking to realise the principle of love in educational practice. One of the first things a boy does on arriving at Barns, as anywhere else, is to find out experimentally what he may and may not do without incurring the risk of punishment. Our aim was to say, in effect, 'There is nothing you will be punished for; so you must learn to base your conduct on some other foundation than the fear of punishment.' With a united staff this would have been difficult, but not impossible. So long, however, as there was one person who was prepared to punish, so long were the boys prepared to continue to seek this sanction among the rest of the adults, and some boys have never ceased to try to persuade the other adults to punish them even though every effort was made to dissociate the methods of the school from those of the rest of the House. One episode during the first few weeks is worthy of record. One boy, of a particularly 'wild' disposition, did everything in his power to force the house-matron to punish him. His efforts reached a climax one night at bedtime, when he had his dormitory in an uproar and was abusive and violent, and eventually ran out of the dormitory. After a few minutes he returned and got quietly into bed. As he did so he said: 'This is a funny place. You *never* get the belt.' Having established that point, he began to mend his conduct, though we believe his mending to have been retarded by the fact that he soon discovered that you could get the belt after all—in school. It should be said, however, in this connection, that at the end of the first year the teacher-in-charge was given as part-time colleague the new sub-warden. To him was com-

mitted after a time the charge, in school, of the older boys, and thereafter this part of the school was conducted on much the same lines as the rest of the House.

Punishment is now entirely renounced in Barns, because

- (a) it militates against the ready establishment of a relationship of mutual confidence between children and adults;
- (b) with most of our boys it has frequently been tried in the past, without obvious effect;
- (c) even if successful it provides a false and inferior motive for conduct, and it fails in the building of character;
- (d) in so far as it expiates an offence, it has the effect, so to speak, of balancing the account, so that fresh debit entries may be made with an easy conscience, in the knowledge that they too will be paid for in due course;
- (e) it shifts responsibility for behaviour on to the adult instead of leaving it with the child.

But although non-punishment is fundamental to the method of Barns it is really only the negative aspect of our first aim—which is to make the child feel that he is loved. The casual observer might pronounce the staff ‘sloppy,’ as a good deal of use is made of terms of endearment and physical demonstrations of affection. These are somewhat unusual in the ordinary institution, but common enough in any decent family. Our children need them even more than ordinary children. It is amusing and instructive to watch a tough little street urchin arriving at Barns and trying to be contemptuous of the ‘old hands’ when they ask to be kissed good night, because this is usually the boy who, in a few weeks, will be loudest in his demands for that sort of thing. There are two boys—brothers—who after two years still resist any advances of this kind, and continue fairly hard and callous. Their mother confesses that they never kiss her—‘We don’t want to encourage them to be sloppy.’ Both these boys are extremely gluttonous, but the gluttony quite disappeared from one of them during a period when he was getting a great deal of special attention from the warden. Generally they are selfish and self-centred with little thought of anyone’s well-being or convenience but their own. Yet when Christmas came these two boys amassed a surprisingly large number of presents to give their parents. It was a rather pathetic attempt to ‘buy some love from their parents. The warden one day half-seriously reproved a 9-year-old who had been very difficult with a temporary voluntary helper. Hearing afterwards that the boy had apologised to the helper, the warden, again half-seriously, withdrew his previous remarks on the grounds that the boy was sorry now. ‘I’m no’ sorry,’ said the boy. ‘But you told Muriel you were sorry!—I didna.’ ‘You apologised to her for being

such a humbugging nuisance this morning.'—'I didna.' When Muriel was asked exactly in what the apology had consisted she said, 'Well—he said, "Let's be friends." Clearlly the boy wanted to be assured that he was loved *whether or not* he had been naughty. Instances of this kind recur almost daily. Above everything else they must be assured that they are loved, not for what they do, but for what they are, including all their manifold badnesses.

For this reason too there can be no standing on pedestals or artificial bolstering up of dignity. The staff call each other by their Christian names, and the boys do the same, except that the warden is, for some undiscoverable reason, always known as 'Willsy.' A well-known minister, in conversation with the warden, said he was worried about the question of bad language on the part of the boys because he said that to him it indicated obscenity of mind. The staff of Barns do not like bad language, and do not attempt to disguise their dislike of it. Nevertheless they often feel that they are making real progress when a boy looks up from his pillow with an expression of trust and affection which is the true respect and, reverting to the language of the cradle, calls out, 'Good night, you old bugger.'

#### SHARED RESPONSIBILITY

In keeping with the effort to assure the child of affection everything possible is done to avoid an authoritarian attitude. For this reason we make use of the method of self-government or, as we prefer to call it, shared responsibility. The first part of the method in Barns, the provision of an environment of affection, may be said to be directed to the unconscious emotional life of the children; the second, shared responsibility, is directed more to the conscious mental processes.

There are many reasons for the use of this method, for example:

1. It helps the children to see the need for the restrictions which have to be placed on the liberty of all for mutual benefit; it puts reason into rules instead of making them the arbitrary edicts of someone bigger or more powerful.
2. It brings home forcibly the inconvenience and unhappiness caused by a breach of the rules society makes for its protection.
3. It encourages initiative and enhances the sense of personal responsibility.
4. It familiarises the children with the methods of democracy.

The distinction that is drawn between what is decided by the children and what by the adults is, broadly, that the adults 'lay down the law' in matters concerning the health of the children, and interpret for the children such laws of the outside community as affect them (as, for

example, that every boy must go to school, because the law of the land says he must be educated).

Beginning with what may be described as a benevolent autocracy when the first half-dozen boys arrived, it became necessary as numbers grew to discuss orderly duties. Hitherto all had made their own beds because they were expected to. An informal meeting was held at which it was explained that there were not enough adults to do all the work, and it was decided that dish-washing, potato-peeling, bed-making and sweeping and tidying of dormitories should be shared equally among all members of the community. Later it became necessary to discuss the question of trespassing, which was liable to bring us into ill-repute with our neighbours; and one boy, after having his misdemeanour discussed several times at special meetings, was eventually put on close bounds as a preventive measure.

From these beginnings grew the house-meeting, which met once a week to discuss matters of daily routine, serious offences against the community or against individuals, social events and so forth. It elected its own officers, to hold office for one month; generally, though not always, adults. It also elected a committee consisting of one representative for each dormitory, which met daily to consider 'charges.' That is to say, if one person (child or adult) had a grievance against another he could bring a charge to the committee, which thereupon dispensed justice. Penalties were imposed by the committee and by the house-meeting, but they were rarely retributive in nature. Prevention and restitution are the two chief aims. One hears of juvenile bodies of this kind being eager to inflict savage penalties on wrongdoers. This has been rare at Barns. Probably the attitude of the children is coloured by the attitude of the adults. If the adults in their environment believe in punishment the children will tend to do what they think the adults consider right, and will feel that the more severe the punishments they inflict, the better they are doing their job. But where the adults are not interested in punishment, and seem to have very little contribution to make beyond: 'How can we prevent this sort of thing happening again?' the children are thrown back upon their own resources. Thus, we have: 'You have repeatedly proved that you abuse your liberty and get us a bad name by damaging our neighbours' haystacks, so you will have to lose your liberty until you know how to make better use of it' . . . Or, 'Marjory complains that you are always making yourself a nuisance in the kitchen so that she cannot get on with her work, so you are debarred from the kitchen for two weeks.' . . . 'You did something very unpleasant to Johnny by hitting him on the nose. On Saturday you will do something pleasant to him to balance it—3d. damages.' In each case of course the offence has been proved before judgment is passed. Sometimes boys who make themselves a

nuisance during free periods are made to do useful work during these times, and sometimes discover in the process that work can be quite enjoyable. At one time a few boys were giving a good deal of trouble by reason of their unseemly table-manners. One of them said, 'We don't want to eat your way. Why should you try to make us?' So the non-conformists came into being. They took their meals in the playroom, and consumed them any way they liked. Sometimes if one peeped through the door one might see a boy sitting on the top of a high cupboard, and another squatting on the floor, to take their food. But more often, after the first few days, they out-Heroded Herod in the severity of their table discipline, even to the saying of grace before meals! The nonconformists came to an end with the end of the house-meeting.

The house-meeting also established the status of 'Freeman of Barns.' A Freeman was one whose conduct was such that he could be trusted to go about outside Barns without escort. The others were not allowed beyond the boundaries unless in the company of an adult. The roll of Freemen was revised by the house-meeting once a month. There was also a system of outlawry: if a boy consistently ignored his duties he was excused them, and at the same time denied the countervailing rights, e.g. he did no orderly duties, but took no share in the reward if his dormitory won the inter-dormitory competition which was running in those days.

During the first few months, while the first few batches of boys were finding their feet all together, there was a good deal of disorder. This had its culmination about the end of the third month when there was chaos, confusion, and a good deal of rioting and window-smashing. Shortly afterwards the Christmas holidays started, and the disorder disappeared, as it seemed, overnight. Since then there have been many ups and downs, and of course an institution run on these lines can never be expected to be as orderly and efficient as an ordinary institution. But that was the great testing time for the staff, who maintained their principles through all the disorder, and in doing so gained the confidence of the boys to a degree otherwise impossible.

After some fifteen months some boys who had suffered several restrictions and disabilities at the hands of the house-meeting suggested that, 'It would be a good idea to start Barns all over again.' Their motives were not of the purest, but there was much to be said for the idea because, as their spokesman said, there were by this time a number of boys who had not had the experience of setting up a system of government. So they decided to 'start Barns all over again,' and then, with a whoop, the meeting broke up.

As they had arranged no machinery for 'starting again,' nor for carrying on during the interim period, the warden proclaimed a dictator-

ship. He pointed out that it was rash to assume that in starting again he would exercise the kind of benevolent autocracy which had characterised the first starting of Barns, when there had been very few boys. On the contrary, he laid down a system of strict discipline of the kind many people advocate for an institution of this kind. He offered, however, to surrender his authority to any properly constituted body that cared to take over the reins of government. After a week of the dictatorship a meeting was called, by one of the boys, of 'all those who want to end the dictatorship.' The warden was invited to attend and accepted the invitation. He asked permission to speak first, after the chairman (aged 12) had made his opening remarks. He said he would only surrender his authority to a body that was really going to run things, and not to a body that was going to leave half the job to the adults, who had hitherto supervised all the routine. He expressed the view that the house-meeting had been swamped by adults, and that this meeting would probably get on better without any. He then withdrew, after expressing his willingness to be called in for advice on any specific point.

It was a successful, if noisy, meeting. It formed itself into the 'Citizens' Association,' an organisation open to 'all those who are prepared to work for Barns.' The duty of each citizen was to take a fair share in the work of government; the countervailing right was the status of Freeman.

Every citizen had to take his turn as officer on duty. There were to be two such officers each day, and they were to supervise routine from Reveille until Lights Out. It is significant that as things have developed the smaller rather than the larger boys have tended to be the more successful officers on duty. The explanation must be that a small boy giving orders is obviously not speaking in his own right—he is speaking on behalf of the community; whereas when a bigger boy is giving orders, there is a suspicion that he may be attempting to exercise personal authority.

Very rarely were more than half the boys members of the Citizens' Association. The remainder either did not want the responsibility or, having accepted it, did not carry it out satisfactorily and were expelled by their fellows.

The Citizens' Association was formed in February 1942 and continued until October of the same year. It was for the greater part of its existence highly successful even as a system of government, apart from its value as an instrument of education; but a number of factors contributed to the decision its members made to disband it and try another system. The new way was a compromise between the two 'systems hitherto in operation, devised as a temporary measure to bridge over a period which was, for various reasons, a very difficult one. We are now, in 1943, experimenting with a kind of cabinet system, in which boys are

elected to supervise various aspects of the life of the community, each with his team of helpers. This is in too embryonic a stage at present to make comment profitable, beyond saying that so far it has worked well.

But the precise system of government is of little significance—the great matter is that the boys should have not only the experience of sharing the responsibilities of government, but also of devising a method. We never feel that we are committed to any one system, and any boy who is dissatisfied with the state of affairs prevailing is encouraged to try to bring about a change. It should also be added that this way of running an institution does not make for smoothness, or efficiency, or harmony. It sometimes results in a state of affairs which would seem to the casual visitor to be chaotic; but those who are in the centre of the maelstrom can see that it has a meaning and the promise of something uniquely good. Obviously it makes very heavy demands upon the staff, even when it is being highly successful, and is much more difficult to maintain and administer than a system of simple authority.

### EDUCATION

In the broadest sense there are very few aspects of the life at Barns which are not education, but it is perhaps convenient to refer separately to what may be called 'schooling' as distinct from education in its widest sense. This again it may be useful to subdivide into (a) school proper, (b) the various activities and occupations midway between school and recreation, and (c) religious education.

#### (a) School

The school was first opened in September 1940, with one teacher to teach an increasing number of boys (up to 30) whose ages ranged from 8 to 13, and whose intelligence, capacity and attainments stretched even further in both directions—all this in addition to their being 'difficult.' It is therefore not surprising that the one teacher found it impracticable, even with such unofficial help as the other staff members were able to give, to apply the sort of principles adopted in the life of the House. He therefore employed orthodox methods of discipline. Even so the classroom had a somewhat more informal atmosphere than the ordinary school; and in view of the limited intelligence of a number of the boys he found it wise to make greater use of various kinds of handwork than is usual.

At the beginning of the second year he was given the part-time help of the new sub-warden, and a few months later, as has been indicated, a beginning was made in bringing the school within the orbit of the machinery of shared responsibility. The initiative for this move came from the boys themselves, and it was strong almost to the point of

violence. Shortly after the formation of the Citizens' Association the teacher in charge began to see signs of serious insubordination in the classroom, especially among the bigger boys under the leadership of the same rebellious spirit who had been responsible for the 'starting all over again.' It seems that the responsibilities they had recently shouldered, and the relative freedom from adult authority they enjoyed outside the school, had gone to their heads, and they apparently resented the more orthodox authoritarian discipline of the school. This rebellious disposition reached such serious proportions that the teacher approached the warden about it, with the result that the group of older boys (about nine in number) were formed into an entirely separate class answerable in matters of conduct and discipline to the Citizens' Association, and with the sub-warden as their own teacher. As he was only a part-time teacher he concentrated on the three Rs and other subjects were dealt with by the administrative and domestic staff. These included Woodwork, Handwork, Painting, Cooking, Dramatics, Poetry, Current Events, etc., and a certain amount of choice was available to the boys.

This proved to be highly successful, and in course of time the whole school has been brought within the general framework of the House administration. Each boy now does three hours a day at the three Rs, and during the rest of the day (including the evening) a variety of occupations and lessons are available at which attendance is voluntary, and which are never referred to as school. A very careful record of attendance is, however, being kept by the adults in charge of the various activities, and it has been found that the boys are putting in more than the statutory number of school hours required of them.

One of the reasons for carefully avoiding reference to these activities as school is that there exists in the minds of the boys a very strong prejudice against anything so called, even in the case of the most attractive subjects. One small boy, for example, is extremely interested in painting, of which he has done a good deal out of school hours. His interest was so great that it was often difficult to tear him away from it at supper-time. One day the adult responsible for out-of-school painting offered to give a period during school hours. As usual the boys were invited to choose their own subject. 'Is this school?' asked the boy in question. He was told that it was. 'Well, then I shall choose an easy subject and get out early.' Here, again, the experiment has been in operation too short a time to assess the result.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This system was put into operation when Mr Benjamin Stoddard, B.A., took charge of the school at the beginning of the year. It was a means of making a virtue of necessity, because during his first term as teacher-in-charge Mr Stoddard had no assistant. The warden and his wife and the domestic staff gave what help they could when they were free from other duties by providing the voluntary classes referred

Two boys attend Peebles High School, and doubtless there will be others, but in the nature of the case they are not likely ever to be many.

(b) *Spare-time occupations*

It has never been part of the policy of Barns to organise every moment of the children's time. It is in our view imperative that they learn from experience how to organise their own time. Our function as adults is to communicate the enthusiasm we feel for our own interests—whether it be music or bee-keeping, poetry or stamp collecting; and to provide opportunities to do things which some children may find interesting, never feeling discouraged if some never seem to be interested in anything but 'playing the'r sel's.' The boys (especially the younger ones) are often keen to help with the housework, apart from the routine duties they perform. The staff, so far as possible, encourage any boy who wants to help them. There is thus often to be found a small team of boys working in the kitchen (a very popular activity) or going round the house with the cleaners. Whenever possible odd jobs are done with the assistance of one or two boys. Then there are the activities specifically provided for the boys, of which the two most popular are Painting and Woodwork. The latter is rather difficult under war-time conditions, and the former is not much less so. Painting is of two kinds, formal oil painting from a set subject, and imaginative painting in water colours. A good deal of interesting work is being done in this field. Then there is Handwork—making odd things out of other odd things—which largely on the initiative of the boys has included the making of a number of presents for other people, such as the local nursery school. The making and playing of bamboo pipes is a popular activity, and there has been a percussion band, at present quiescent. These have all been until recently extra-curricular activities, but we do not in future propose to distinguish between what is school and what is not school, in the sphere of the non-academic.

to above. These were, in approximate order of popularity, Woodwork, Painting (imaginative, in poster paint), Music (percussion band), Painting (formal, in oils), Cooking, Music (bamboo pipes), Gardening, Handwork, Reading, Sewing, Time and the Clock, Poetry, Current Events. The school broadcasts were also available for any who wanted them, and some were very popular.

We believe that a class attended voluntarily, out of interest in the subject, is of immeasurably greater value than one attended compulsorily. This is difficult to prove statistically, but it is at any rate possible to demonstrate whether school time is likely to be lost by this voluntary method. Our boys had three hours a day at the three Rs, and in addition they put in a weekly average rising from five hours each the first week to eight and a half hours each by mid-term at voluntary 'afternoon' subjects.

When it is remembered that this work was all given in the odd half-hours that the domestic staff were free from other duties, it will be realised that if there were a teacher free for this work the statutory requirements concerning school hours would be more than met.

In the winter the arranging of concerts and parties has been a useful activity, and in the summer there have been picnics and outings with a fair amount of camping. All the boys are members of the Scottish Youth Hostels Association, and there have been various hikes to a Youth Hostel for varying periods. As the house is on the banks of the Tweed there is a great deal of bathing, and nearly every boy learns to swim. Many of the boys do a good deal of gardening, in the school garden or in their own gardens.

Team games have not been very much in evidence, partly because of the lack of facilities for football and cricket, and partly because difficult children tend to be keen individualists.

Finally there is what can only be described as a kind of cultural infection, which is conveyed from the adults to the boys. Reference has already been made to painting, of which a good deal is done because one staff member is keen on it. But it does not stop there; there are informal conversations about painters and painting, and opportunities, quite spontaneous and informal, to see reproductions of other people's paintings. Others are keen on music, hence not only the percussion band and the musical pipes, but also informal conversations about music and musicians, opportunities to listen to good music (as well as bad) on the gramophone or wireless, and occasional performances by staff members. Others again are keen on poetry, and the same infection is at work here. It is a common thing (though not a routine) for the warden, after Lights Out, when the boys are settling down, to read a poem or play a gramophone record, often after half-an-hour of swing on the wireless. They enjoy the jazz, but they enjoy the Handel too, and are acquiring so far as the limited supply of records permits, more than a nodding acquaintance with the greatest composers. Often, if this is missed for a night or two, it will be asked for by several boys. This is surely education in its purest form.

### (c) *Religious education*

This, too, is a matter for infection rather than instruction, though of course instruction does take place. The warden and his wife carried over into the family life of Barns their own family practice of morning and evening devotions, open to any who care to attend, but with no attempt at persuasion, much less of coercion. About one-half to two-thirds of the boys attend, though not by any means always the same boys. In the mornings there is a very short reading in the dining-room, and in the evenings a hymn is sung in the staff commonroom. The Sunday service has had a chequered career. Here there was a half-hearted attempt at moral compulsion, which lasted until the Citizens' Association made a clean sweep of that unhealthy aspect of the communal life. They said, 'No service,' and there was no service for three weeks,

when, apparently realising that they actually were free to do as they liked about it, they started a really voluntary Sunday morning service. Much the same proportion of the boys attend as ordinarily attend morning and evening prayers. The service is arranged and conducted by an *ad hoc* committee elected each week, sometimes with the help of an adult, sometimes without.

We have been astonished at the strong anti-religious sentiments expressed by even very small boys, and at the crude theological conceptions generally held. God is thought of purely as a strict, all-seeing monitor, vindictively awaiting an opportunity to visit the wrongdoer with condign punishment. The 'anti-God' sentiments sometimes expressed are undoubtedly uttered in a spirit of bravado—'I'm not frightened, even of God'—and are symptomatic of the real fear and anxiety which this idea of God, inculcated from an early age, brings about; inculcated, that is, not deliberately, but accidentally and implicitly by the attitude of the adults around them. In their homes and on the streets they have heard the name of God spoken freely in oaths and imprecations. We strive to make Him an equally free topic of conversation without the fear and embarrassment with which His name is often associated. But, to quote from our First Annual Review, 'it is not so much on the spoken word that reliance is placed in laying the foundations of a religious life and leading the boys to wish to know God and to understand His will; rather it is on the hope that they are finding now in their daily lives at Barns something of that inner security and happiness which had hitherto been denied them; that the unconscious spiritual experience through which they are passing will, in time to come, lead them to a living belief in God's Fatherhood and an assured faith in Christ's way of love. In this way the aim will be realised of all those who live and work at Barns. . . .'

#### PSYCHOLOGICAL SUPERVISION

Barns needs, and should have available, a medical psychotherapist, but war conditions have made this impossible.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless a very careful supervision is exercised over each boy's development. When he comes (often before he comes), his family, his school, etc. are visited by a trained social worker who builds up as complete a picture as possible of his environmental background. She continues to act as liaison officer between Barns and the home, prepares the ground in due course for his return, and acts as after-care officer.

The whole staff meets once a week to consider a number of cases—

<sup>1</sup> April 1943. It has now been found possible to form an advisory committee on treatment, membership of which includes a medical psychologist, an educational psychologist and a physician.

usually about six will be taken at a sitting. Everyone contributes to the discussion anything of interest or significance he or she may have noticed about the boy in question, and a careful record of these discussions is kept in the boy's dossier. Often apparently contrary views are recorded, and a synthesis of these views will sometimes be found in a subsequent discussion. This meeting provides the opportunity to decide what sort of attitudes different people should take to the boy in question, and to make plans for his treatment. These are never at any one time elaborate, but taken over a period of time quite a comprehensive kind of treatment will be found to have been effected. The decisions taken will include such things as: 'To receive some extra attention from so and so' . . . 'To be encouraged to resign from the chairmanship' . . . 'Ask doctor if he's got worms' (he had—badly; treatment made a big difference) . . . 'To be offered the chance to do school work on his own, in warden's office instead of in classroom' (he did nothing in class; after working by himself for two or three months he was able to go on to the High School) . . . 'To see warden weekly for a few weeks.' These discussions are also of course invaluable in giving the warden a line in talking to a boy.

A frequent topic of prolonged discussion at staff meetings is the obstinate problem of enuresis. Our attitude to bedwetters has always been one of attaching no blame or disqualification to the unfortunate sufferer. Rather more than a third of the boys are bedwetters, many of them having in the past undergone severe, and sometimes disgusting, punishments for their 'offence.'

We find them divisible into two kinds—those who start bedwetting after coming to Barns, and those who come with a history of enuresis.

The former are much the more hopeful, and it is probably right to assume that this bedwetting is part of a general recapitulatory process. As the recapitulator 'grows up' again he passes through the bedwetting phase and all is well once more.

The others present a very different problem, and our conclusions concerning them are mainly negative. Most of the cures that are talked of glibly by ill-informed people are at the best merely preventives, and often not even that. Drugs, for instance (of which the most popular seems to be belladonna), fail to prevent at all in some cases (it can never be a cure), and even those who show a positive result seem after a time to acquire a tolerance to the drug. Occasionally lifting may prevent, but to be successful it needs to be carried on at intervals through the night, and even then complete success is not guaranteed. We do not make a practice of lifting because (a) we are convinced that it does not cure (whatever its preventive value), and (b) it is apt to be looked upon as punitive by the child. We do however call, last thing at night, any boy who wishes to be called. None is being so called at

present. The warden did once discuss their trouble with the bedwetters with the result that they decided to sleep together in one dormitory, and be called late at night. He 'punished' any who did not get up when called by refusing to call them again, though he would usually relent after a night or two. A record was kept over some months. A slight improvement was noted in some cases at first, but these afterwards relapsed, even while still being called. The regulars remained as regular as ever.

Our experience leads us to share the view expressed by Dr William Moodie in *The Doctor and the Difficult Child*, that the reduction of intake of liquids in the evening (even if it can be enforced) is perfectly useless.

We cannot speak, from our Barns experience, of the value of rewards and penalties in this connection, because we have never tried them; but on general principle we are convinced of their uselessness.

We do find slight improvement, and occasionally considerable improvement, over a long period of time, but it is always associated with a general improvement in other respects: a lessening of fear and anxiety, and a reduction of aggressiveness seem to be associated with an improvement in enuresis. These improvements are comparatively rare, however, and our obstinate cases remain, after two years, as obstinate as ever.

## RESULTS

No assessment of results can really be made until some years after the boys have left Barns, so what is said below must be strictly tentative.

Though we have seen many undoubted remissions of symptoms, and improvements of one kind or another in every boy who has stayed for any length of time, we make no claim to have cured anyone. Where there have been failures they seem to have been due to causes beyond our control, and are not, so far as we can see, obviously due to deficiencies in the method we have employed. A failure generally means—up to the present indeed has always meant—a boy who is taken from us before treatment is finished. This happens in one of three ways.

1. He may be taken home by his parents for any of the irrational and irrelevant reasons for which parents do 'de-evacuate' their children. (One mother took her boy home because she couldn't sleep at nights for thinking of him.)

2. He may reach school-leaving age (14) before treatment is finished; it is very difficult to keep a boy once he is able to earn.

3. His symptoms may express themselves outside Barns. That is to say, he may steal or commit some other offence in such a way as to bring himself to the notice of the police.

We normally try to keep a boy as long as possible (that is, until school-leaving age), partly because we cannot hope to remove the results of

nine or ten years' faulty upbringing in as many months, and partly because even when a boy seems cured, there is no point in returning him to the same unhappy environment from which he came any sooner than can be helped.

Although we cannot at this stage give statistical evidence of our results, we have been tremendously encouraged and gratified by what we have seen. Speaking broadly it may be said that the rowdy, uncontrollable, bad-tempered, aggressive type of boy has responded most readily to the Barns type of treatment. But the quiet withdrawn type of boy, often given to pilfering and other forms of deceit, also responds, though not nearly so quickly.

We can certainly say that there has been an encouraging response in every boy who has stayed six months or more. In many cases the response has greatly exceeded all expectations.

## THE HOME-STUDY SCHEME IN EDINBURGH<sup>1</sup>

WHEN the schools of Edinburgh were closed by Government instruction on 31st August 1939 and the plans for evacuation had been carried out, it was found here as elsewhere that thousands of children had remained at home, and that thousands who had been removed to reception areas had returned or were in course of returning to the city. Within a fortnight, indeed, considerably more than half the total number of registered children on the school rolls were resident in the city, and it became essential to make some provision for their continued education if only to protect them from the deterioration that would inevitably result from non-attendance at school.

Heads of schools were instructed to ascertain the numbers of pupils who had remained in the city; and this information was generally obtained either by means of a questionnaire sent to parents or by direct personal canvass on the part of the school staffs. Contact having been thus established, the next step was to draw up a plan for bringing the children into small groups in their various home districts and for teaching them in the private houses placed at the disposal of the school staffs. Older pupils who could not be accommodated or who were unable to meet in groups were expected to continue individual study at home, and in their case the approach was made, and the co-operation of the parents sought, by means of circular letters to both pupils and parents in such terms as the following:

### *To the Pupils of . . . School*

Arrangements are now being made to enable you to resume your studies. Until it is possible to re-open the school, you will need to carry on your work at home. The general scheme is as follows:

1. You will be supplied with the necessary books.
2. In each subject an assignment of work will be given, showing what should be done week by week.
3. You will require to decide for yourself how to divide the time you

<sup>1</sup> This article is a composite report completed from papers in the files of the Edinburgh Education Office, and from memoranda and notes submitted by heads of schools. The writer desires to acknowledge his indebtedness and to express his thanks to all who have assisted but in particular to the following: Miss May Andrew, M.A., Head Mistress of James Gillespie's High School for Girls, Dr John Mackie, Rector of Leith Academy, Mr William Ogilvie, M.A., Head Master of Saughton Junior Secondary School, Mr William Rattray, M.A., late Head Master of Sciennes Primary School and ex-Secretary of the Edinburgh Head Teachers' Association, and Mr Alex. L. Young, M.A., B.Sc., Ed.B., Deputy Education Officer, Edinburgh.

devote to study, how long to study at a time, in what order to tackle the various subjects, and in fact to make all the arrangements necessary for carrying out the work.

4. Instructions will be given with each assignment about sending in written work and receiving new assignments.

You should arrange for someone to call at the school to get your books and assignments of work.

Yours sincerely,

Head Master.

SCHOOL,  
September, 1939.

To the Parent or Guardian.

Dear Sir or Madam,

As it may be some time before it is possible to re-open the school, it has been decided to give the pupils the opportunity to resume their studies at home. The pupils will be given books and guidance in their work. This guidance will consist in giving the pupils a note of the work they should do in each subject week by week. The parents can assist in the following ways:

1. By providing facilities for study. If a separate room is not available, it will no doubt be possible to arrange for times when there is quietness in the room used. The normal give-and-take in all families will make it easy to do this: for example, to agree when the wireless set should be silent, and so on.
2. By seeing that the pupils have sufficient time, and not expecting them to be available at all times for household help.
3. By encouraging the pupils to keep abreast of their work.

In connection with these last two points, the pupils will have the duty of arranging how they will divide up their time and in what order they will tackle the various subjects.

At present it is not permissible to gather pupils together in large numbers, or to ask them to come to school. Parents are therefore requested to be good enough to arrange for someone to call at the school for books and assignments.

I have found in the past that the parents of the pupils at . . . School have been most helpful in looking after their children's education, and I am confident that in this new situation I can rely on their willing and active co-operation.

Yours faithfully,

Head Master.

From time to time changes in the estimated number of children remaining in the city were returned by schools to the Education Office on a specified form, on which were also recorded particulars of the groups of pupils already organised, showing the location of the groups, the number of children in each (distinguishing between primary and post-primary pupils), the number of hours of instruction per week, the subjects of study covered, and the names of the teachers attached to each group. From the data supplied it has been possible to obtain for the whole city a conspectus of the emergency educational arrangements which were in operation for some four to six months, roughly from September 1939 to February 1940.

The pre-war total roll of the Edinburgh Corporation schools was 57,485. It is estimated that 17,811 school children left the city as official evacuees at the beginning of September 1939, of whom some 3,541 were secondary pupils. In course of time others left, many under private arrangements, and others returned. By the middle of October 1939 some 6,000 pupils were catered for by the system of assignments of work described later. Of these about 2,000 were primary school pupils, the remainder secondary. At the same time some 17,000 pupils were provided for by home-study methods of instruction, the relative proportions being 15,500 primary pupils and 1,500 secondary. In all, some 23,000 children were at that date covered by these emergency arrangements, and for a time there was a steady increase as additional premises were obtained. Attendance at school was made compulsory from the beginning of March 1940, when the normal routine of school work was once more resumed.

It will be convenient to consider the home-study plan at three different levels, according as it affected the infant division, the primary division, and the secondary division. It must be remembered, however, that conditions were never stable, for provision had continually to be made for returning evacuees, and the groups varied much both in numbers and in the length of time they were under instruction or supervised study per week. In some cases all that could be done was to take two or three pupils together in a private house for an hour once a week, give them an assignment of work for the following week and examine what had been done in the previous week's assignment. At the other extreme, there were groups of a dozen or more being taught systematically under conditions which approximated to those of school, with the added advantage of home surroundings and individual tuition. Between these two extremes existed all degrees of gradation.

## THE INFANT DIVISION

Normally the number of children in the group varied from 3 to 12, and each group was accommodated in a private house where not uncommonly the conditions were ideal and would have won the praise of Pestalozzi. Each little 'group school' was visited by the teaching staff at least twice a week; most had three lessons per week and some even four. In many cases it was found possible to remove the individual tables and chairs from the schools to the houses, and much of the necessary equipment and apparatus was similarly transported to the new, improvised schoolrooms. The little ones seemed to enjoy this type of school very much and would have welcomed more time spent in it. They are reported to have made very good progress in the three Rs, and to have benefited by lessons in Drawing, Handwork and Singing. They engaged in the usual occupational activities and singing games with even more zest and unself-consciousness than are apparent in school, and on the whole their happy progress bears striking testimony to the truth of the maxim that the good school is modelled on the good home. When the schools were re-opened it was found, almost without exception, that the children who had enjoyed this opportunity of directed home study, brief as it was, were quite up to standard, and some indeed surprisingly advanced their work despite the shortage of teaching time. The friendly intercourse, too, between parents and teachers, which characterised the scheme, was of inestimable value, and helped to establish a cordial understanding between them that has all the signs of permanence.

## THE PRIMARY DIVISION

The number of children in the groups varied from about 7 to 25 or 30, and the groups for the most part were accommodated in private houses, though one or two of the larger groups received instruction in halls or private schoolrooms. Again it was found possible to convey much of the necessary equipment from the schools to the private houses, and again the small-group system lent itself admirably to individual tuition. The schools, however, do not show the same unanimity of opinion in regard to the results achieved as in the case of the infant division. Perhaps this is to be expected when it is remembered that the numbers were more considerable, the individual differences much greater, and the new conditions of home instruction less appropriate. Moreover, it was not possible to secure group accommodation for all the pupils in the primary schools, so that many had to do their work in their own homes, where conditions naturally varied and where the degree of interest and of enlightenment of the parents was a factor of importance.

In general the systematic work of instruction was limited to English and Arithmetic, the staff conducting the lessons where possible, issuing assignments of work to be done, and correcting the returned scripts at the end of each week in the manner of the Dalton Plan. The pupils were also encouraged to do some Drawing and Handwork for recreation in their own time, and many of them, both boys and girls, were stimulated by the sewing teachers to knit comforts for the troops throughout the whole period. In addition, optional lessons were given in History, Geography, Singing and Swimming, and with the aid of the public library many books were issued from the schools both for purposes of instruction and of entertainment in the dark evenings.

While the great majority of the parents evinced an enlightened interest in the children's work, some were undoubtedly lax, and boys in particular fell into bad habits that caused difficulty when the normal school routine was resumed. But the visitation of the children's homes came as a revelation to many of the teachers of the appalling housing conditions under which many of their pupils live, and enabled them to realise at first hand the adversities which so many of them have to fight and surmount. Here again the more intimate relation between teacher, pupil and parent brought forth a deeper understanding with lasting benefits to all.

It is difficult to assess the results of the home-study scheme on the great population of children in the primary schools, so unstable were the group numbers, so diverse the conditions, and so different the attainments. But on the whole the teachers seem to be in fair agreement on certain points:

1. That the older pupils suffered less retardation than the younger, and that, intelligence being equal, the degree of retardation was roughly in inverse proportion to the age of the pupils.
2. That the brighter children suffered little or no retardation in the subjects of English and Arithmetic, and that some made even more than normal progress.
3. That the average and under-average children fell behind to an extent more or less directly proportionate to their degree of intelligence.
4. That, though it was possible to teach the duller children more satisfactorily because they received more individual attention, the lessons were on the whole too short, too infrequent, and too widely spaced to enable them to make anything like normal progress.

Rated at its lowest, however, the group work carried on in the homes had undoubtedly a steady influence during a time of public excitement and private anxiety, and it definitely prevented the serious

deterioration in the staple subjects which would have resulted from prolonged lack of schooling.

### THE SECONDARY DIVISION

Although the secondary schools were the first to be re-opened when normal educational provision became possible, and in consequence the period of improvised arrangements for these pupils was shorter than that of the others, it was on this stage that the most intense and systematic educational effort was concentrated. In general the provision made for the first year of the secondary division was similar to that made for the primary schools, but from the second year to the sixth a real attempt was made to establish correspondence courses that would interest and instruct the pupils and enable them to cover the ground required for the Leaving Certificate examination.

The heads of each school were responsible for the arrangements deemed most suitable for their staff and pupils, and details of organisation and method differed widely, but the general plan was as follows:

1. Assignments of work for one week in all or most of the school subjects were prepared, and delivered to each pupil at his or her home.
2. Thereafter a second assignment was prepared and delivered, the first collected and taken to school for correction, and the weekly rotation continued.
3. Pupils were provided, as far as possible, with books and stationery, and a system was adopted of supplying each pupil with two notebooks which would allow work and correction to be carried out simultaneously on the rotation plan.
4. A sorting system on post-office lines was set up in most secondary schools for the reception and despatch of work done.
5. The scheme included the use of broadcast lessons and of the public library services.

In some schools an arrangement was made whereby the staff was divided into two sections, teachers of 'ordinary subjects' and teachers of 'special subjects.' The former remained in schools, devoting themselves to the preparation of assignments and the correction of the returning scripts, while the latter undertook to call at the pupils' homes in order to carry out Art and Craft projects, to examine and direct exercises in Handwork and Domestic Science, and generally to establish and preserve contacts with pupils and parents. In some cases they were also responsible for the delivery and collection of the pupils' exercises, while in others the senior pupils assumed responsibility for their wards, cycling to school each Friday morning to collect the envelopes containing the week's assignment of work from each specialist teacher, to issue the

necessary paper and material for the exercises, and to deliver the pupils' finished scripts. There is ample evidence that these pupils performed their work as ministering messengers with accuracy and despatch, and without detriment to their own studies.

In contemplating the actual work to be done by the pupils in their homes, and in the preparation of the assignments, the guiding principle was to ensure that the educational wheels were set in motion again as smoothly as possible, that damage due to the sudden closing of schools might be repaired as soon as possible, and that a home course of education should be provided approximating as closely as possible to that normally followed in school. It was essential that the approach should be practical. What was needed in the first instance was adaptation rather than experimentation, and a sufficiency of work to keep each pupil usefully employed for a reasonable time from week to week. The instructions and requirements of the exercises and tasks to be done must be easily grasped, and the matter clearly and attractively set forth to secure the interest and good will of the pupil. At the same time no assignments were to be made too onerous; overloading was to be avoided.

With these aims in view standard papers were prepared in all subjects of the school curriculum, 'ordinary' and 'special'; in English, History, Geography, Mathematics, Latin, French and German on the one hand, and in Science, Arts, Crafts, Domestic Science, Technical and Commercial Subjects on the other. These, however, did not conform rigidly to any one pattern; they varied from week to week, and presented the materials of study as freshly and interestingly as possible. This task demanded much thought and imagination from the teaching staffs, and there is evidence of many ingenious attempts to supplement and strengthen in this way the work of the pupils in the various school subjects, and especially in those practical subjects which suffered most from lack of indispensable apparatus and tools.

In English, for example, in addition to the usual constructive exercises and composition, pupils were induced to keep a diary as a record of happenings day by day, public and private, up to the time when schools re-opened. Home-reading too was stimulated and encouraged by the weekly issue of Corporation library books on loan to the school. Full advantage was also taken of the broadcasting service, and pupils were instructed to listen to the excellent lessons provided by the Central Council for School Broadcasting in many subjects, including History and Geography. On these first-rate notes were made and preserved in the pupils' notebooks. In Science also broadcast lessons proved a valuable help, and in Nature Study much useful work was done in collecting, drawing and naming the various parts of plants, flowers and fruits. Indeed the natural keenness for drawing of the younger

pupils was directed and controlled by a variety of indoor exercises, including ruler-drawing with measurements as well as reproduction of objects. The familiar properties of the ordinary household—chairs, tables, fireplaces, beds, sofas, clocks, vases, ornaments—lent themselves admirably to the purpose, and opportunities for lessons in perspective were discovered in the drawing of room corners, interiors, stairs and staircases, doors and passages. When the weather permitted outdoor sketching was encouraged, and correlated as far as possible with Nature Study, in an attempt not merely to stimulate and develop interest but also to cultivate a finer appreciation of nature, colour and design. A further correlation of the same kind but in a different direction was introduced in Technical Drawing by issuing assignments for the sketching of bridges, farm buildings, houses, carts, agricultural implements and industrial plant. Much of the normal school programme in Experimental Science it was impossible to undertake as laboratory accommodation was not available, and in Modern Languages the lack of direct oral training, which could only be given at irregular and infrequent intervals, was a serious limitation. Even so it was possible and helpful to enlist the ubiquitous services of the B.B.C. and many pupils listened to the broadcast talks or to the gramophone records.

It is not easy to speak with certainty of the results of the work done by the secondary pupils, but from all reports it would appear that the older pupils reaped the greatest benefit. This is what might have been expected not only because the senior pupils have acquired more poise and independence, but also because they have presumably already been set on the proper lines, and need less personal guidance than the younger pupils. There is evidence to show that a very considerable amount of systematic work was done in the homes, that the pupils performed the assignments regularly and conscientiously, and that home-reading was both more extensive and more thorough than it is under the normal routine of school. The brighter pupils forged ahead surprisingly, the average pupils at least maintained their progress in most subjects, but the sub-average pupils again appear to have fallen further behind than they would have done in school.

Of the younger pupils of this age-group it is still more difficult to speak, and no general verdict is trustworthy. It is impossible, however, on all the evidence, to escape the conclusion that next to the innate ability of the pupil the factor of greatest importance in determining the progress made was the environment of the home. Where the home conditions were favourable and the parents definitely interested, the pupils' progress seemed assured; and conversely where the conditions at home were unfavourable and the parents lacked interest or were antagonistic, the pupils' work suffered and retardation followed. The

brighter pupils, like their seniors, showed up well, the duller badly, but in the wider range of average pupils there would seem to be fewer who made progress comparable to that of the average pupil in the senior group. With the onset of puberty there are doubtless many disturbing factors, physical and psychological, that have serious repercussions on the intellectual life of growing boys and girls, and normally the corporate life of the school, as well as its discipline and control, does much to counteract the more injurious effects. When this is withdrawn, the pupils are thrown back on the guidance of the home, and if it fails them, deterioration and retardation inevitably result. These impressions seem to be confirmed by the fact that a significantly greater proportion of retarded pupils are reported from the junior secondary schools than from the senior secondary schools, taking account only of the average pupils in both types of school.

In regard to the subjects of the secondary school it is probably true to say that English, History and Geography suffered least, and indeed in many instances were improved. In Mathematics only the brighter pupils advanced at the expected rate, and these only when fairly systematic tuition was possible; the others showed various degrees of retardation. In Latin progress was generally well maintained, but in Modern Languages the insufficiency of direct oral training was a serious handicap, and the slower pupils are reported to have found it very difficult to understand corrections from written explanations. Much of the practical work in Science had, of necessity, to be foregone, and the loss of the laboratories proved to be perhaps the most serious deprivation of all.

Nevertheless there is general agreement that the home-study scheme, while it had some obvious shortcomings, was at its best a valuable supplement at a difficult time to the informal education of life, and, at its worst, a useful method of maintaining some kind of contact with school. From the pupil's point of view it was strongest on the side of revision, weakest at the stage of breaking new ground. From the teacher's point of view it was at its lowest an interesting if somewhat perplexing experience, at its highest an opportunity of trying and testing a new teaching technique. From the parent's point of view it was a close-up of the whole educational system, bringing into one picture the pupil, the teacher and himself, and revealing a triple alliance with good promise for the future of education. For in stimulating the general interest that so gratifyingly prevails in educational matters to-day none has done more than the parents of the Edinburgh child who in these early months of the war gave their homes for his school and gained his teachers for their friends.

## THE SCOTTISH EVACUATION FILM SCHEME.

THOUGH officially this scheme lasted from October 1939 to January 1940, the foundations on which its success rested were built in the years that immediately preceded the outbreak of the present war. Starting in the early 'thirties with small groups of teacher enthusiasts working in their own areas, there was built up in succeeding years, the Scottish Educational Film Association, the Scottish Film Council and lastly the Scottish Central Film Library. By 1939, therefore, there was in being an organised body of experienced teachers, a central executive and a library of educational films. By that year, too, there had been built up throughout Scotland a supply of substandard cinema equipment and a body of opinion as to the use of films in education.

To a large extent this development had taken place in the towns and in those centres where electrical supply was convenient; but encouraged by the growth of the movement one or two enterprising film equipment dealers had taken in hand the problem of cinema projection of sub-standard films in remote rural areas, using battery projectors where current was not likely to be available.

This then was the situation at the beginning of the war. The Library had not been long established—as a matter of fact it had been opened in the May preceding September 1939. Nevertheless the bookings of the stock of films were encouraging and all seemed set fair, when there came the thunderclap of war and in a night the situation was changed. Library bookings were cancelled wholesale. The social upheaval of evacuation completely destroyed the settled order of things on which the success of the new venture depended, and a fortnight after war broke out the outlook was black indeed.

The situation was not made any brighter by the knowledge that the British Film Institute, the central organisation in London round which the Scottish edifice had been built, was contemplating a policy of retrenchment. This step had been forced on the Institute by the knowledge that war conditions would probably affect its revenues; and its effect on Scotland seemed likely to prove disastrous. A cut in the slender income which the Institute allotted to the Scottish Film Council was certain to leave that body with resources totally inadequate to maintain the newly established Library.

This was the situation when, towards the close of September 1939, being at a loose end, evacuation duties having terminated, the writer visited Russell Borland, the Secretary of the Scottish Film Council and Director of the new Library. Together we surveyed the ruin, but we

decided that lamentation led nowhere. The impact of war was a challenge as well as a disaster; and we had sufficient faith in the value of cinema to a Britain at war to look around for ways in which it might be put to good use.

Staring at us was one great problem. Thousands of city children had been suddenly moved into the country. It had been a disappointing experience, and a collapse of the whole scheme was threatened. The question was: Could we cinema enthusiasts do anything to help? These children, we knew, were cinema-minded. For years visits to the cinema had been a part of their normal existence. Now that they could no longer go to the cinema, could we take the cinema to them? Better still, could we let their cinema-minded parents know that Willie and Jean, lost in the wilds of rural Scotland, were still getting to the 'pictures'? We decided to try.

When we sought action we found an open door. The Scottish Regional Office of the Ministry of Information had been equally alive to the significance of the cinema and its possibilities as a help to keep children in the country. They had a fund available. Through Mr A. B. King, the newly appointed Films Officer for Scotland, we were able to make contact with the Scottish Ministry of Information, but we found the amount of money they had available ridiculously inadequate. £400 to take films throughout Scotland! The whole thing was a joke. Nevertheless funds are funds, and rather than turn aside, we decided to see what could be done with the money available. Finally it was decided to run experimentally for a month. This could be done provided we could draw generously on the good will we had built up through the early years with educational administrators and teachers. We thought this might be arranged.

Our hopes were not in vain and within a week the first units were on the road and the scheme had begun. One stormy meeting with the Scottish Educational Film Association saw the faint hearts routed, and the Association put its experience at the disposal of the Scottish Film Council. Twenty-six teachers mainly drawn from Glasgow and Edinburgh put themselves and their cars (one enthusiast actually bought a car) at the disposal of the Council to act as teacher-driver-operators. Directors of Education everywhere provided facilities, and the Directors of Glasgow and Edinburgh particularly were generous in their supply of equipment and in their willingness to release teachers to carry through this project. An enterprising Aberdonian cine-dealer took a risk with battery projectors of a type which he had been experimentally producing when war broke out. Films were drawn mainly from the Library, but when necessary others were hired. The staff of the Library and the Scottish Film Council toiled like slaves. And all was well.

The scheme was an overwhelming success. Perhaps because of the

almost complete lack of organisation it worked with amazing smoothness throughout Scotland, from Inverness in the north to Wigtown in the south. Teachers set off with their cars, their projectors, their films and a few rolls of black paper designed to provide black-out where none existed. Up and down Scotland shows were given—primarily for evacuees but also from the beginning to every local school child. The film vans on tour were welcomed everywhere, and by their resourcefulness the teachers overcame all difficulties and the shows went on.

The programmes were composed of educational films with a comedy thrown in for light relief. These films hastily got together were built up by the teachers into an interesting programme. Almost in spite of themselves they used the films from time to time as teaching material; and as each programme was presented a certain amount of instruction went with it. The scheme attracted considerable attention. First of all the rural papers started the chorus of praise. At a later stage the city papers took it up and finally the London papers were singing the praises of the Scottish Film Council. So successful was the experimental month that the scheme was continued for a second and later for a third month. But by that time it was apparent to everybody that the evacuees were not going to stay in the country, and as a result there was no call for its continuance. It was eventually abandoned early in January 1940.

The scheme had, however, not been in vain. From the standpoint of educational cinema development it had two important results. In the first place, it was undoubtedly its success which enabled the Scottish Central Film Library to weather the very difficult period of the initial months of the war. By the time it was ended it was apparent to all that the devastating effects of total war were not for Britain immediately, and because of this schools began once more to resume more normal work and the cinéma in school which had been so widely publicised was used with increasing enthusiasm. As a result of this increasing interest in the use of the cinema in school, bookings for the Library were resumed. Throughout the war years the issue of films has gone on increasing until in July 1943 it had reached the satisfactory figure of over 3,000 reels a month, by far the greater part of these films going to schools. The total number of reels issued from the Library in session 1942-1943 was 41,181.

The second point of educational significance was the effect of the scheme on the rural areas. In the pre-war period the development of the cinema in the school had been almost entirely a movement confined to city areas. The evacuation film scheme took the cinema into the country and brought home to country school teachers the possibilities of the cinema as an aid in their work of bringing the world into the

classroom. The head master of a country school in the Lothians put the position aptly: 'The town children who are evacuees are deriving educational benefit from their stay in the country. Why should not we country teachers and pupils obtain some of the advantages of city life? And since we cannot take the country children into the town for a period of schooling the next best thing is to bring some of these advantages into the country districts. Chief among them I should place the showing of films.' In the years that have followed, despite the dwindling supply there has been a steady increase in the number of projectors installed in Scottish schools. A surprisingly large number of the new projectors have been acquired for rural schools, and these schools are among the most regular supporters of the Scottish Central Film Library.

Beyond these two significant developments it is doubtful if any special educational principle was discovered in the course of the scheme.

It was too hastily devised for anything in the nature of an educational experiment to be planned. The actual routine of arranging and carrying through the shows absorbed so much time and attention that little time was left for anything other than seeing through the job that was in hand; but even if the scheme was limited in this way the service it did in bringing home to rural teachers and administrators the significance of the cinema in teaching has from the educational point of view proved of first-rate importance.

Some details, mainly technical, may be added from a report on the Evacuation Film Scheme.

### PROGRAMMES

Film programmes normally consisted of six reels of silent film, giving an approximate running time of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours; four reels were instructive or of general interest; two were comedy. Each operator carried 8 to 10 reels so that he could vary his programme to suit his audience. Here are three typical programmes.

(a) Young children—5 to 9: *Feeding Time at the Zoo*, *Life in the Sahara*, *Monkey Business* (Our Gang Comedy), *Felix Follows the Swallow* (Cartoon).

(b) Older children—9 to 14: *Animal Life in the Hedgerows*, *Winter Games*, *The Building of a Liner*, *Overland to California*, *Smithy* (Laurel and Hardy Comedy), *Spring Fever* (Harold Lloyd Comedy).

(c) Adult: *Grass* (4 reels), *Swedish Gymnasts*, *How to Balance your Diet*, *The Immigrant* (Chaplin—2 reels).

### EQUIPMENT

Each travelling unit was provided with a substandard 16 mm. projector and accessories and a portable screen. In addition where the unit was giving shows in an area not served by electric current a battery projector and two 12-volt car batteries were added.

### AREAS COVERED

Shows were presented in the following counties: Aberdeen, Argyll, Ayr, Banff, Berwick, Dunbarton, Dumfries, East Lothian, Fife, Inverness, Kincardine, Kirkcudbright, Lanark, Midlothian, Moray and Nairn, Peebles, Perth and Kinross, Renfrew, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Stirling, West Lothian, Wigtown.

### STAGES IN THE SCHEME

In the first month, 20 units were on tour and gave 482 shows to a total audience of 55,820. In the second month, 15 units were working, giving a total of 608 shows to audiences totalling 63,423. In the third month, 27 operators were on tour mainly during the Christmas holiday period. They gave 378 shows to an audience of 30,689. In this last period also the co-operation of the film trade officials was given in 92 cinemas throughout Scotland. In these cinemas special film shows were arranged and were attended by approximately 65,000 school children. Altogether 30 teachers from 9 different branches of the Scottish Education Film Association took part in the scheme.